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GILBERT WAKEFIELD B.A.

civis erat qui libera posset

Verba animi proferre et vitam impendere vero.

Juv. Sat. IV. v 90.

MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE

OF

GILBERT WAKEFIELD, B.A.

FORMERLY

FELLOW OF JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

DIVINITY SCHOOL
LIBRARY
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

VOL. I.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

A NEW EDITION, WITH HIS LATEST CORRECTIONS,

AND NOTES BY THE EDITORS.

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED,

AN APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL LETTERS.

——————— all his study bent
To worship God aright, and know his works
Not hid, nor those things last which might preserve
Freedom and Peace to men. MILTON, P. L. xi. 577.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD,

BY T. BENSLEY, BOLT COURT.

1804.

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TO

THE REVEREND

THOMAS WAKEFIELD, B.A.

RICHMOND, SURRY.

DEAR SIR,

We take the liberty of presenting to you this enlarged edition of the Memoirs of your brother, to whom you bore so uniform a regard, and in the events of whose life you were so warmly interested.

The familiarity of friendship with which he indulged us, and from which we derived so much pleasure and instruction, we shall always recollect as one of the happiest cir-

cumstances of our lives; nor can we rank among its least advantages, that we were thus introduced to an intimacy which allows us to subscribe ourselves,

DEAR SIR,

Your affectionate friends,

JOHN TOWILL RUTT,

ARNOLD WAINEWRIGHT.

London, Aug. 11, 1804.

PREFACE,

BY THE EDITORS.

FOR some time previous to the death of Mr. Wakefield, the whole impression of his MEMOIRS, which he published in 1792, had been sold, and he was frequently importuned to republish them. Various circumstances prevented his engaging in this employment, till by the eager curiosity which his prosecution and imprisonment excited, he was determined to embrace the earliest opportunity of reprinting the work, with a *Continuation* of it to the period of his restoration to liberty.

For this purpose, during his long confinement in Dorchester gaol, he frequently employed himself in correcting and altering the former edition, and committing to detached scraps of paper, as was his practice, various hints for the completion of his design. These materials, he intended, on his return to Hackney, to prepare for the press. But this, and all

his other projects for the amusement or instruction of the world, were but too speedily frustrated by his death.

Soon after that lamented event, his papers were committed by his family to the care of the editors to publish a new edition of the *Memoirs*, with a Continuation to the time of his death. In preparing the present work they have been animated by a sincere affection to the memory of their friend, without forgetting that strict regard to fidelity which is the first requisite for the office they have undertaken. Nor have they neglected to use the advantages for information which their intimacy with Mr. Wakefield afforded them. It was, indeed, their knowledge of facts and circumstances, derived from long personal acquaintance, such as easily escape public observation, which induced them to comply with the wishes of his nearest relations upon this subject.

Among his papers, they found a copy of the Memoirs published in 1792, containing numerous corrections of the text, with many additions in the margin, apparently inserted at very different times. Those who compare the former edition with the present will easily discover, in almost every page, some variation either in matter or style, and, in

many parts, considerable alterations. There is no doubt, from the state of his own copy, that he designed still further improvements. Among the additions were references to a variety of authors, many of them the most eminent of our own country, whose sentiments in testimony of his high esteem, he appears to have intended to quote either in the text or in notes. To complete this design to the best of their power, the editors have ventured to add to the passages selected from his references, others which appeared applicable to the connexion in which they have used them, chiefly from those who were his favourite authors: distinguishing his own quotations by the letter W. They are sorry, however, to observe that in two or three instances this distinction has been omitted.

Such of these notes as are assigned to Mr. Wakefield, numerous as they may seem, form but a comparatively small part of the collection of references in his own copy, or on detached papers, designed either to confirm and illustrate some of his positions, or to enliven and diversify the narrative. Of these, as may be easily supposed, a great number were lost to the editors, being only hints to assist his own recollection. As to many of the rest, in what precise manner he intended to apply them, it is impossible now to ascertain. No alterna-

tive remained but to give them in their present form, or to omit them altogether. Their own intrinsic value will sufficiently justify their insertion.

As to those for which the editors are responsible, it is the object of some of them to sustain and justify his censures of individuals, which, destitute of such corroboration from authentic sources, might not improbably appear to have been brought forward without sufficient authority. Should these censures be still thought to require an apology, let it be remembered, in excuse for the severest of them, that "nothing is more injurious to the cause of truth than the apostacy of those who have professed themselves her advocates: to her enemies it affords exultation and triumph; her timid and wavering friends it frightens from their duty; it lessens the value of all public professions of honesty, and tends to diffuse through the world a gloomy scepticism both in politics and religion, the bane of public and of private virtue."[a]

Others of the notes are designed to shew the validity and justice of opinions which he strenuously maintained, but which many might

[a] See "Three Letters to the Bishop of Landaff," by W. Burdon, M. A. Fellow of Emman. Coll. Cambridge, p. 35. 1795.

be disposed to regard as the vague effusions of a retired scholar, unacquainted with the world, and therefore but ill-qualified to form a proper estimate of the manners and practices of those engaged in more active scenes. On these occasions, considerable attention has been given to quote such writers, and those almost exclusively, as will be acknowledged of unquestionable authority. For obvious reasons, those have been preferred who, in their general principles of politics and religion, materially differed from Mr. Wakefield.

It was his intention, previously to committing his Memoirs a second time to the press, to dispose the work in chapters, but he has not left even a hint of the manner in which they should be divided. To fulfil his design, it was found necessary, in a few instances, to alter the arrangement in order to observe a due regard to chronological accuracy.

Although his work was entitled *Memoirs of himself*, yet it must be confessed that, like the works of many of his predecessors in this department, the greater part of the book consists of matter not immediately connected with the avowed subject of it. It is presumed, however, that the information conveyed in his digressions will, by its amusement or instruc-

tion, more than compensate his seeming inattention to the strictness of method.

Should the translation of his classical quotations be deemed superfluous, it may be observed that in his later publications he generally adopted the practice, and designed to have continued it. By the scholar these translations will be passed over without any inconvenience.

The "Essay on Alphabetical Writing," which was before printed in the body of the work, to avoid the interruption of the narrative, is now placed in the Appendix. For a new arrangement of this interesting essay, according to the author's altered and amended copy, and an examination of the numerous references, the editors are indebted to the friendly attentions of the Rev. Mr. Dewhurst, of Hackney, who, besides other services, very obligingly undertook the task of correcting the press through the whole of the first volume.

The Appendix to that volume, consisting of letters to and from Mr. Wakefield, the larger part of which they owe to the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Gregory, will serve to elucidate the Memoirs, and give an additional interest to several passages of his early

history, as it includes that very important period when he formed those views of truth, and principles of conduct, which gave "all the colour of remaining life."

In preparing the *Continuation* of Mr. Wakefield's Memoirs, it has been the aim of the editors to employ his own language on every occasion where his papers would assist them. Unfortunately, he had arranged no materials beyond the conclusion of his own volume, depending on his well-stored memory whenever he should resolve to proceed with the work. There were indeed a large number of detached sentences on scraps of paper, written when a thought happened to strike him, and thrown into his paper-case. A great part of these related to transactions, and opinions drawn from them, which no one but himself could venture to publish, because no one else could be in possession of the evidence to support them.

Of the rest of these materials they have made the best use in their power, taking care, in every instance, to acknowledge their obligations. All the quotations from his papers not otherwise described are from this source. They hope that they may claim some little credit for their attention in examining such a mass of unconnected fragments as came into their possession, and selecting those

passages which they are well persuaded will be found to be the most valuable part of the second volume.

In noticing his publications, which have appeared since the former edition of the Memoirs, they have been induced to make frequent quotations from his smaller works. These can hardly be deemed superfluous when the peculiarly uncertain preservation of a pamphlet is considered; several of his own published only a few years since having been for some time out of print, and, from their subjects being local and temporary, unlikely to be ever re-published. Yet they contain sentiments, formed on enlarged principles, well worthy of general attention; and the editors venture to indulge the hope, that in some minds, uninterested by the circumstances that gave them birth, the passages which they have here endeavoured to preserve may still effect the original purpose of their author by promoting the cause of truth and virtue.

The interesting events of his last years they have been desirous of describing with all the impartiality in their power, restraining the feelings which their attachment to him naturally excited. They would, however, have been wanting in justice to his memory had they scrupled to hold up to public

animadversion some of the injuries which he endured, and which every man may expect to suffer, whose talents and virtues shall render him obnoxious to a corrupt administration.

The circumstances of his imprisonment they have been able to relate chiefly in his own letters from Dorchester gaol, many of them written to his eldest daughter. Those not otherwise described were addressed to one or other of the editors. Of his remarks on the prison, and imprisonment in general, they regret, that from their unfinished form, so small a part can be brought before the public.

They cannot close this preface without acknowledging their obligations to Dr. Parr, who has kindly complied with their desire to insert some valuable letters from his pen. Another clergyman of the church of England also very obligingly communicated for this work a character of Mr. Wakefield, which deserves peculiar attention, as derived from an intimate personal knowledge of many years.

That the publication of these volumes has been so long delayed is a circumstance not a little mortifying to the editors, who have been interrupted by various unavoidable avocations, which more than once obliged them to lay aside the papers entirely for several months. They might also mention the delay of many

weeks occasioned by a fire, which destroyed the printing-office where the first volume had been just committed to the press.

They entered upon the task, indeed, consulting rather their wish to see it undertaken, than their ability to perform it, as speedily as might be expected. What they have now been able to accomplish, with a good design, however imperfect the execution, they are persuaded cannot be wholly uninteresting to the numerous personal friends of Mr. Wakefield, who, "having this picture of his life set before them, may still keep him alive in their memories, and by this means may have some small reparation for their inexpressible loss by his death." [b]

London, August 11, 1804.

[b] Bishop Spratt's "Life of Cowley."

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

My desire of securing the affection of good men, among other motives, contributed its efficacy to the following work, as the most pertinent vindication of myself, both as a *writer* and a *man*. The private life of an author is materially serviceable to his writings; and I should be very sorry to find the authority of my *literary offspring*, of itself sufficiently feeble, impaired by erroneous and uncharitable opinions of their *parent*.

Many facts, however, respecting others, will be produced in the course of these *Memoirs*, curious and instructive in themselves, and well calculated to furnish the philosopher with a clearer insight into human manners. With whatever freedom my disposition may lead me to chastise *hypo-*

crisy, meanness, and *immorality,* the eye of candour will easily perceive in me an eagerness to commend *virtue* wherever I discover it; and that my predilection, as my friends well know, is not for censure, but for commendation:

"Still pleas'd to praise, yet not afraid to blame[a]."

A spirit of evangelical benevolence, a consciousness of intellectual mediocrity and imperfect virtue, have disposed me, I hope, to decide with kindness on the conduct of others, and with justice on my own; and have in a great degree, if not altogether, exempted my affections from envy, from malice, and from pride. Yet I am sensible

[a] POPE's Essay on Criticism, v. 743.

" Information, communicated for the real purpose of warning, or cautioning, is not slander. Indiscriminate praise is the opposite of slander, but it is the opposite extreme; and however it may affect to be thought excess of candour, is commonly the effusion of a frivolous understanding, or proceeds from a settled contempt of all moral distinctions."

PALEY's Mor. Phil. 8th edit. vol. i. p. 289.

W.

that "It is a hard and nice subject for a man to write of himself; it grates his own heart to say any thing of disparagement, and the reader's ear to hear any thing of praise from him[b]."

As to the *Latin* and *Greek* quotations, they whom such displease, should reflect, that besides the *authority* which they confer, other readers are highly gratified both by *uncommon passages*, and by those that are *familiar*, in an *application* to which they had never thought of turning them. To adopt the words of *Jortin*, on a similar occasion, "I sometimes use this variety and mixture to please my own taste, be it good or bad[c]."

[b] Cowley. Essay of Myself, vol. ii. p. 261. ed. Hurd.

Where the bishop differs from his author, justly remarking in a note, that "A man of worth and name, is never so sure to please, as when he writes of himself with good faith, and without affectation.—Hence our delight in those parts of Horace's, Boileau's, and Pope's works, in which those eminent writers paint themselves: and hence the supreme charm of Cowley's essays; more especially of this essay."

[c] JORTIN's Erasmus, pref. iv.

With these explanations, I again dismiss this work into the world; demanding candour, desirous of approbation, and neither dreading nor defying the severities of criticism.

INTRODUCTION.

It seems to be generally allowed, that no sort of composition is more calculated for instruction and entertainment, than Biography. The annals of an *individual*, and the occurrences of *private life*, concentrate, if I may be indulged in this expression, the glances of the mind, which are apt to range without determinate application and personal interest, over the multifarious occurrences of *public* history.

'History,' observes Lord Bacon, 'oftimes representeth the magnitude of actions, and the *public faces* and deportments of persons, and passeth over in silence the smaller passages and motions of men and matters. But lives, if they be well written, propounding to themselves a person to represent, in whom actions, both greater and smaller, public and private, have a commix-

ture, must of necessity contain a more true, native, and lively representation.'[a]

But of all those biographical relations, which have contributed so much to inform and delight mankind, those, if I mistake not, have been received with peculiar eagerness and approbation, where the writer and the subject have been the same.[b] Who has not, for instance, felt himself interested, to a degree of uncommon avidity, in perusing the lives of *Lord Herbert, William Lilly, Whiston, Clarendon,* and *Cibber?*

Nor is elevated rank, superior genius, or a dignified station, necessary to this exquisite gratification of the reader. The essential requisites of such a work are, events not wholly unimportant, nor unconnected with the political or literary transactions of the times, related in a style perspicuous, nor yet void of ornament, with the confidence of integrity, and the simplicity of truth.

For my own part, I can sincerely affirm, that no motives of vanity, engendered by

[a] Bacon's Works, 4to. i. 45.

[b] 'Those relations are commonly of most value, in which the writer tells his own story.' Idler, No. 84.

an overweening persuasion of great accomplishments or distinguished virtues, have impelled me to present my *own memoirs* to the public, unconnected with *a sense of duty*.

Nor let the reader startle at the apparent singularity of this declaration. I am firmly persuaded, that a life like mine, of which so large a portion has been employed in a vigorous pursuit of *religious truth*, and an undaunted profession of her dictates, in opposition to the sensibilities of domestic influence, the restraints of friendship, and the solicitations of worldly interest, in conjunction with such application to useful literature, as precarious health, embarrassed circumstances, perpetual change of residence, and numerous avocations, would allow: I am, I say, firmly persuaded, that such a life, faithfully delineated, can hardly fail of a beneficial influence on the manners of the rising generation.

Grateful as I am to the GRACIOUS BEING, without whom I and my faculties are nothing—"who worketh in me both to will, and to do of his good pleasure,"[c] I feel no dis-

[c] Philip. ii. 13.

position to affront his bounty by assuming the language of *hypocritical* humility. Venerating TRUTH above all earthly things, I can think and speak of myself, as well as of other men, without malice and without extenuation. I will never incur a *real* imputation of dissimulation and ingratitude, by adopting a silly affectation to avoid the mere *appearance* of conceit.

> 'Oft-times nothing profits more
> Than self-esteem, grounded on just and right,
> Well managed.'[d]

In such a narrative, the ingenuous youth may find some encouragement to perseverance in that honourable path, to which Conscience shall direct his steps, amidst the seductions of example, and the general licentiousness of the age: and may learn, from one specimen at least, the infinite satisfaction of unpensioned philosophy, in competition with preferments, when the conditions of acceptance are inconsistent with freedom of enquiry, a love of truth, and the injunctions of Christianity.[e]

[d] Parad. Lost, viii. 571.

[e] Πολλοι τοι πλουτουσι κακοι, αγαθοι δε πενονται·
Αλλ' ημεις τουτοις ου διαμειψομεθα

It is not my intention to begin this work with any formal protestation of my veracity in the conduct of it. The narrative will in general authenticate itself by *internal* evidences of probability; and, in many instances, the transactions will be so well known to a variety of characters, still performing their parts on the stage of life, as will make any material falsification of facts impracticable, without the hazard of exposure to infamy and contempt.

I shall therefore proceed to relate a series of adventures, not wholly unimportant or obscure, in a style little inferior for honest bluntness, to that of my predecessor *Whiston*; premising only one admirable maxim of the most noble moralist of antiquity:

'The tenour of a VIRTUOUS LIFE carries

Της αρετης τον πλουτον· επει το μεν εμπεδον αιει,
Χρηματα δ' ανθρωπων αλλοτε αλλος εχει.

Theogn. 315—318. W.

See vice advanc'd to insolence and wealth,
And worth despis'd, and sunk in poverty;
But shall we virtue, then, for gold resign?
No; virtue's treasures mock the power of chance,
While fortune's gifts revolve in ceaseless change.

with it more authority and conviction than the MOST SOLEMN OATH.'[f]

[f] Δει γαρ τους αγαθους ανδρας τροπον ὁρκου πιστοτερον φαινεσθαι παρεχομενους. Isocrat. ad Demon: p. 6. D. edit. H. Steph.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

OF

THE REV. GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

CHAP. I.

Mr. Wakefield's Birth—Some Account of his Parents, &c.

1756.

I WAS introduced into this planet on February 22, 1756, in the parsonage-house of St. Nicolas in Nottingham, of which church my father was then rector. Of him, and my other ancestors, I have but little to inform the reader. Though uninfected by the pride of empty distinctions beyond almost any man alive, he has spoken of his mother, whose maiden name was Russel, as deriving both from the *Russel* family, and the great lawyer *Sir Edward Coke.* Her grandfather, if I rightly remember, was clerk to the house of lords in Charles II's time; and his name may be seen subscribed to the secretary of state's permission, prefixed to Burnet's History of the Reformation.

My father has spoken of *his* father as being one of several brothers, the eldest of whom inherited, and, with the assistance of his son, dissipated, a small estate which had been beyond memory in the family, who were settled at Stakenhill, in Derbyshire[a].

My mother's family had been settled for many generations in the town of Nottingham; and her grandfather was twice mayor of that corporation. The heads of this family were, as one of my brothers is accustomed facetiously to observe, of the same occupation with that *Simon*, mentioned in "the Acts of the Apostles," who lived by the seaside.

My father was born in 1720, at Rolleston in Staffordshire, near Burton upon Trent, where his parents afterwards resided. They were not very well able to furnish the supplies necessary to a liberal education, preparatory to the profession for which he was intended; yet he was sent to Jesus College, Cambridge, where he

[a] Respecting the above mention of Sir Edward Coke, there seems to have been some misapprehension, as the signature in Burnet is *Jo. Cooke*, a mode of spelling which does not appear to have been adopted by Sir Edward Coke or his family. The ancestor probably intended, was Sir *J. Coke*, or Cooke, (Secretary of State to Ch. I.) whose residence was in Derbyshire.

See BURNET's Reformation, and Biog. Brit. 2d Ed. iii. 675, &c.

was admitted in 1738. After finishing his academical course with a reputation far beyond a mediocrity of character, he became curate of St. Mary's in Nottingham; and was afterwards *fellow-elect* [b] of his college, but married before another vacancy in that set of fellowships, for which only, by statute, he could be a candidate. In the above curacy he passed four or five years.

In this very ancient church of St. Mary, of which mention is made in Doomsday Book, on the western end of the south wall, is a marble mural monument, erected by a fond husband to the memory of his wife. After a short account of her family, her age, and the day of her death, follow these two lines, in my opinion exquisitely beautiful, and most happily allusive to that grand consolatory declaration in St. Luke:—"Neither can they die any more; for they are equal to the angels, and are children of God, being children of the resurrection [c]."

[b] At *Jesus* College upon a vacancy of a fellowship, two persons are elected by the master and fellows, and presented to the *Bishop of Ely*, who (according to the statutes of the founder) appoints one of them, usually the first-named in the presentation, to fill up the vacancy. The other is called the *fellow-elect*, and upon the next vacancy is generally re-elected by the college, and then receives the appointment of the bishop.

[c] Chap. xx. 36.

" Rest, gentle shade! and wait thy Maker's will:
Then rise unchang'd, and be an angel still."

The circumstances which led to my father's induction to the rectory of St. Nicolas, were honourable to his patrons and to himself, and shall therefore be recorded in this place. HERRING, who had been originally of Jesus College, which he exchanged afterwards for Bennet, examined my father at Kensington for priest's orders, as *Archbishop of York*, in which diocese the county of Nottingham is included; and was so pleased with the manner in which he acquitted himself in this examination, as to notice him among the candidates, and to assure him that this would not be the last instance of his regard.

It was not doubted, at the time, that this amiable prelate intended to give him, on the first opportunity, a prebend in the collegiate church of Southwell, or some other preferment in that neighbourhood; but his kind intentions were soon frustrated by his translation to the see of *Canterbury*.

When St. Nicolas in Nottingham, which is in the gift of the *crown*, became vacant, my father went up immediately to the duke of Newcastle, then *prime minister*, with a recommendatory testimonial from the corporation of Nottingham. This monument, however, of the

good opinion of that fraternity, seemed to operate but feebly on the propensities of his grace, who asked his petitioner if he had no other friends to recommend him. My father mentioned (besides Mr. Plumptree, *member* for the town, who also interfered on this occasion) his *Grace of Canterbury.* "That," said the duke, "is powerful interest indeed!"

My father lost no time in going to Lambeth; was immediately acknowledged by the noble primate, who ordered his coach that instant, carried the country curate to the minister, and obtained the living for him:—an act of fidelity and disinterestedness highly worthy of that virtuous and patriotic metropolitan; and, I fear, but rarely found in these exalted stations.

What a contrast did my honest father experience in the behaviour of *Dr. John Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln* in those days! This prelate, on his way to a visitation at Loughborough in his diocese, was passing through Nottingham; and happening to be at church when my father read prayers, he entered into conversation with him, after the conclusion of the service, with the utmost affability and good nature; took a walk with him to the castle; enquired with minute anxiety into the value of his living, the

number of his children, and his prospects in life. "A very scanty provision indeed for a man of liberal education, with such a family! You *must* have a better provision in the church! You shall go with me to my visitation at Loughborough!" Now view, reader, our *Nathanael*, happy man! seated next to his *Lordship* at the visitation dinner! a strange clergyman of another diocese, in greater favour even than his *own sons*.

——— "fortunæ filius! omnes."[e]

They all proclaim him Fortune's fav'rite child.

Alas! this *episcopal tantalizer* was only gratifying his facetious propensity at the expence of an unsuspecting child of simplicity and innocence, and seeking perverse delight in exciting expectations which he never meant to realize. This was afterwards understood to be his common practice of exercising the credulity, and insulting the feelings of his inferior clergy: and, as I much more approve the maxim, "De mortuis nil nisi VERUM," than "De mortuis nil nisi BONUM," I have endeavoured to hold out the conduct of this departed churchman to the bitterness of censure and detestation.

[e] Hor. Sat. ii. 6. 49.

These certainly are not the *arts* of those whom the Roman poet speaks of as improving human life, and leaving a grateful memorial of themselves beyond the grave:

> " Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
> Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo." [f]

> " Worthies, who life by useful arts refined,
> With those who leave a deathless name behind,
> Friends of the world and fathers of mankind." [g]

No: our ancient bard has justly pronounced, in strains worthy of paradise,

> " Only the actions of the just
> Smell sweet, and blossom in the dust."

Soon after his obtaining the living of St. Nicolas, my father was presented to the rectory of Claypole, in Lincolnshire, with circumstances equally honourable to himself, and his patron, Mr. Plumptree, mentioned above.

My father, by voting for this gentleman at a contested election, offended the corporation, who therefore withheld from him, for some time, the twenty pounds a year which they allowed to each of the three clergymen of the town, and which at that time was of some importance. Afterwards, when Claypole became vacant, Mr. Plumptree, in generous and grateful remembrance, sent the presentation to my

[f] Æn. VI. 663. [g] Pitt.

father *immediately*, that, as he said, it might be secured against the application of the Duke of Newcastle, (his relation, and then Prime Minister) which he expected, and soon received.

After continuing seventeen years a Rector at Nottingham, my father was presented by an old friend, and brother clergyman, (Mr. Bailey, of Langley, in Derbyshire), to the vicarage of Kingston-upon-Thames, with the chapelry of Richmond, in Surry; the value of which had been greatly exaggerated to him.

When his contented and happy patron was urged by some friends to take the livings himself: "No," says he, "I am satisfied with my present situation. Now, were I to go to Richmond, the *king* would be my parishioner. I must consequently go to court. Then I shall be looking forward, of course, to a prebend, or a canonry. As soon as I am well settled in a stall, I shall grow uneasy for a bishopric; and then eager after translation to a better. In due time Lambeth will be the fond object of my wishes: and when I am stationed there, I must be miserable, because I can rise no higher. Had I not then better be quiet in my present condition, than be always wishing, always obtaining, but never satisfied?" [h]

[h] "Deinde, animi ingratam naturam pascere semper,
Atque explere bonis rebus satiareque nunquam,

In the vicarage of Kingston my father continued nine years, universally beloved for his unaffected manners, unwearied benevolence, and genuine simplicity of character; and, if his present majesty had condescended to take some notice of his parish priest, and suffered but a single ray of favour from that bright bundle, which illuminated sycophants and dunces, to glance on this deserving object, so often seen by his royal eye, and so well known to himself and his attendants, one good deed would have been added to the ample catalogue of his princely merits.

When at length this friend and favourite of his flock went down to the receptacle of all the

> Hocc', ut opinor, id est, ævo florente puellas,
> Quod memorant, laticem pertusum congerere in vas,
> Quod tamen expleri nullâ ratione potestur."
>
> LUCRETIUS III. v. 1016.

"*The expectation of preferment: more preferment!* The grand thing commonly aimed at, both by clergy and laity, and generally the utter ruin of virtue and religion among them both." WHISTON, p. 156.

Dr. Ogden, in one of his sermons, after descanting on the case of *Ahab* and *Naboth*, and shewing that our desires increase in proportion to the gratification of them, concludes with uncommon energy and pointedness: "For a man to fall sick for a garden of herbs, he must be king over ten tribes of Israel." W.

living, he was attended to his grave by upwards of sixty of the most respectable parishioners, in habits suited to the solemnity. He was buried in the chancel of Richmond church; and the following epitaph, written by a clergyman well acquainted with his worth, and characteristically just, is engraven on a mural monument of marble, erected near the grave.

Sacred to the Memory of the Rev. GEORGE WAKEFIELD, M.A.
Near 18 years Rector of St. Nicholas, Nottingham,
And Claypole, Lincolnshire,
And nine years Vicar of Kingston,
And Minister of this Parish.
He made
(As far as human infirmity will permit)
His unaffected purity of doctrine,
The invariable model
Of his own conduct.
In private and social life
He was humble, friendly, and affectionate:
The duties of his pastoral care he discharged
With fidelity and zeal.
Thus endeared
To society, his family, and flock,
He submitted to the hand of death
With complacency and resignation:
On the 10th day of February, 1776.
Aged 56 years.

My mother died at Hackney, Feb. 18, 1800, in her 79th year, and was also buried at Richmond.

My father, in his youth, had occasionally indulged his fancy in poetical effusions; one or two specimens of which came into my hands. A translation of "Pope's Eloisa," into *Latin hexameters*, done by him at Cambridge, I have heard Mr. Nevile, a Fellow of our College, of whom I shall have occasion to speak at a future period, mention with approbation. This I never saw; but I will subjoin, for the amusement of the reader, without altering a single word, a translation of the *fifth* ode of the *first* book of *Horace*, which is not destitute of taste and spirit.

What youth laid on a rosy bed,
With odours flowing round his head,
In a cool grot does you caress?
For whom do you, deluding fair!
Adjust your head, and plait your hair,
And so genteelly dress?

Alas! how often will he find
The various motions of your mind
Unsettled, unsedate!
View frowns, subservient to your wiles,
Supplant your momentary smiles,
And curse his cruel fate,

Who now enjoys at large your charms,
And melting in your circling arms,
Believes your love sincere;
Hoping you ne'er will from him part,
Foments the passion of his heart,
And banishes despair,

Unhappy youth: unhappy they,
Whom your untried deceits betray!
In Neptune's temple view,
A votive tablet, and a vest,
By me suspended as a test,
Of my escape from you.

Here I shall close "the short and simple annals" of my forefathers; sensible as I am, that VIRTUE only can give HONOUR to any individual, and that nothing is disgraceful but IMMORALITY.

....nec census, nec clarum nomen avorum,
Sed probitas magnos, ingeniumque, facit.[i]

Nor ancestry, nor honours of the state,
But sense, and virtue, make a mortal great.

Malo pater tibi sit Thersites, dummodo tu sis
Æacidæ similis, Vulcaniaque arma capessas,
Thersitæ similem quam te producat Achilles.[k]

If you were like Achilles, and could wield
Vulcanian arms with terror through the field,
Though of Thersites born; more bright you'd shine,
Than a Thersites from Achilles' line.[l]

[i] Ovid. Ep. Pont. I. 9. v. 39.
[k] Juvenal VIII. 269. [l] Owen.

CHAP. II.

Early Education—Rev. Mr. Wooddeson—Rev. George Harvest —Mr. Wakefield's admission into Jesus College, Cambridge.

1759—1772.

From my earliest infancy, I was endowed with affections unusually composed, with a disposition grave and serious. I was inspired, from the first, with a most ardent desire of knowledge; such, I believe, as hath never been surpassed in any breast, nor for a moment impaired in mine. This devotion to learning I had indulged with such assiduity and success, that, in May 1759, at the age of *three years* and *three months*, when I went to school to an old lady at Nottingham, who was living but a few years since, I could spell the longest words, say my catechism without hesitation, and read the "Gospels" with perfect fluency; indebted considerably for this early proficiency to the attention of my mother.

As most of the transactions of my infancy are to this day impressed on my mind in very distinguishable characters, I well recollect that I got by heart, for my task, the following Whitsuntide holidays, the ten first verses of the

twenty-fifth chapter of *St. Matthew*; and at Christmas, in the same year, the seven first verses of the ninth chapter of *Isaiah*. And now the occasion has brought the subject in my way, I must stop to mention, that Bishop Lowth has very properly corrected our version in this place, and was probably indebted for the improvement to the remarks of the incomparable Joseph Mede.[m]

By the time that I had completed my *fifth* year, I went to a writing school; and about the age of seven was initiated in the *Latin* language in the free-school, in *Nottingham*, under the Rev. Samuel Berdmore, at that time Usher of the school, and a Fellow of our college, and afterwards master of the *Charter-house* school in London; which post he has relinquished for several years.[n] His abilities were above mediocrity; and he probably thought his appointment (not the most respectable, I own) unworthy of them; accordingly he used no exertion in the execution of his trust. None of his scholars, *in those days*, will acknowledge, I venture to assert, any obligations to his assiduity; and for myself, I can truly say, that I owe him nothing.

[m] See Mede's Works, ed. 3d. p. 101, 102. and Bp. Lowth in loc.

[n] Dr. Berdmore died in January 1802.

Soon after I went to this school, the reception which an exercise for the holidays, inspected and approved by my father, met with from this gentleman, I shall not hastily forget. He threatened with great snappishness to flog me. Conscious to myself of having done all that could be expected from a scholar of my years, and much more than any diligence of his could authorize him to expect from my exertions: persuaded also, that any master of the least imaginable discernment would easily discover in me no *Ephorus*, who had occasion for a *spur*; I was shocked, and alarmed beyond measure, at a threat equally harsh and unjust.

A humane and judicious master will be very careful not to exercise such severity on minds eager for literary distinction, and "opening their mouths," in the language of scripture, "as the earth waits for the latter rain."* Infant emulation is a delicate and tender plant, which must be protected with equal solicitude from the chillness of neglect, and the inclemency of rebuke. Fruits *worthy of Paradise* may be intercepted in the blossom; nay, the tree itself may be checked in its growth, and, from the blights of repeated churlishness, wither away for ever.

* Job, c. 29. v. 23.

Pudore et liberalitate liberos
Retinere, satius esse credo, quam metu.[p]

.....'tis better far
To bind your children to you by the ties
Of gentleness and duty, than of fear.

Some remarks of *South* in a Sermon on Education, which contains many admirable precepts, will appear to great advantage in this place.

"I would give those 'plagosi Orbilii,' those pedagogical Jehus, those furious *school-drivers*, the same advice, which the Poet says Phœbus gave his son Phaeton,—"PARCERE STIMULIS." Stripes and blows are the last and basest remedy, and scarce ever fit to be used, but upon such as carry their brains in their backs, and have souls so dull and stupid, as to serve for little else but to keep their bodies from putrefaction."[q]

"Let not children, whom nature itself would

[p] Terent. Adelph. I. 1. v. 32.

"If anye *fletchers* heard me say thus, they would not be angrye with me, excepte they were *ill fletchers*; and yet by reason, those *fletchers* too ought rather to amende themselves for doing ill, than be angrye with me for saying truth." Ascham's Toxophilus, in Works, 4to. p. 148. W.—See also the interesting conversation related in the *preface* to the 'Schoolmaster.'

[q] South's Sermons, V. 30, 31.

bear up by an innate generous principle of emulation, be exposed, cowed, and depressed with *scoffs* and *contumelies* (founded perhaps upon the master's own guilt) to the scorn and contempt of their equals and emulators. This is the most direct way to stupify and besot, and make them utterly regardless of themselves, and of all that is praise-wŏrthy: besides that it will be sure to leave in their minds such inward regrets, as are never to be qualified or worn off."[r]

May the failings of this acrimonious divine be atoned by these dictates of kindness and humanity, prescribed in such feeling and forcible expression! And may all his uncharitable prejudices be no more remembered to his dispraise in the *register of Heaven.*

Of this *free-school* in Nottingham, Mr. Richard Johnson, A. M. was *head-master* from the year 1707 to 1720, the year of his death: the entire history of whose life is daily descending into oblivion with accelerated rapidity down the stream of time. All my enquiries have been able to rescue from the gulph but few particulars concerning a character worthy of remembrance. His daughters were married to men in the lower orders of society, and are forgot-

[r] South's Sermons, V. 32, 33.

ten: but to the future age of scholars, *three* of his *literary* offspring will perpetuate his name with honour, for an extensive and accurate acquaintance with the grammatical proprieties of the *Latin* tongue: namely, his "Noctes Nottinghamicæ," his "Grammatical Commentaries," and his "Aristarchus Anti-Bentleianus:" for *he* too must launch his spear against the buckler of *Neoptolemus*. The last performance is replete with accuracy of erudition, and sprightliness of wit.

Which *University* had the honour of his education I could never learn. He was for sometime before his death disordered in his mind. On this ground, though, I believe, from other motives, the corporation made an attempt, by a legal process, to eject him from the school, without offering a sufficient annuity for his maintenance. He represented to them the unreasonableness and cruelty of leaving a man of his years destitute in the world; and expressed his hope, with a cunning often found in such cases of partial intellectual derangement, that they would at least give him a testimonial, setting forth his qualifications as a *school-master*, that he might earn his bread in another place. The request was complied with, and this paper was produced against these *outwitted* gentlemen on the trial.

When the cause came to a hearing at the assizes, Counsellor *Abney*, afterwards a Judge, and not esteemed the *Solomon* of his age, was retained by the Corporation. After much personal reflection and unblushing rudeness, "In short, Mr. Johnson," says he, "*that* has happened to you, which Felix imputed to St. Paul, *much learning hath made thee mad.*" To this Johnson, good-humouredly and sarcastically, replied, "That whatever might be the case with respect to himself, he was persuaded that the excellent Judge upon the bench, and the honourable court, would agree with him in opinion, that the gentleman, who made this remark, would *never be mad from the same cause.*" Johnson was established in the school.

The above representation of Counsellor Abney is denied by the family, but my information was from *contemporaries* acquainted with the transaction. His descendants have, doubtless, in their *great room*, a capital portrait of this Judge arrayed in his official robes and *Gorgon Periwig*; and thence conclude that he *must* have been a wise man.

Some time after, Johnson, in a fit of despondency, drowned himself in a small stream which runs through Nottingham meadows. My friend, the Rev. Timothy Wylde, master of the same school, a sensible and well-informed man, who

died on the 26th of January 1799, at the venerable age of *ninety-four*, heard Mr. Chapel, formerly of Jesus college, Cambridge, and many years rector of *St. Peter's* in this town, speak of the extreme horror with which he was impressed, on meeting one evening, as he was walking in the meadows, a venerable grey-headed man carried on a bier. It was *Johnson*. He appeared to have been sitting on the bank of the rivulet, and was found in shallow water with his head downward.

These are all the incidents that I have been able to collect from the perishable traditions of his contemporaries.

> But tears at least are left us to bestow.

and these, thou venerable shade! the eye of compassion will drop upon thy grave; and thou wilt ask no more.

> Τουτο νυ και γερας οιον οϊζυροισι βροτοισι,
> Κειρασθαι τε κομην, βαλεειν τ' απο δακρυ παρειων.[a]
>
> ..... the rites of woe
> Are all, alas! the living can bestow;
> O'er the congenial dust enjoin'd to shear
> The graceful curl, and drop the tender tear.[b]

At the age of *nine* years I exchanged this school for that of *Wilford* near Nottingham,

[a] Hom. Od. Δ. 197. [b] Pope.

then under the direction of the Rev. *Isaac Pickthall*, who died April 15, 1798, in his 75th year. He was a man of almost unparalleled simplicity and innocence of manners; but, from a pure excess of conscientiousness, and a religious anxiety of doing justice to his scholars, was guilty of a great error in judgment, by confining us too long, even to an extreme imprisonment, scarcely credible but to those acquainted with the conduct of this seminary.

We came into this school at *five o'clock* in the morning during the summer, and, with the intermission of *less than two hours* for breakfast and dinner, we continued there till *six* at night. A dreadful punishment, in truth, at that active, and sprightly age! on which I never reflect, but with emotions of disgust and horror.—Poor, scrupulous, simple man! to suppose that he could not discharge his duty to the parents, unless he made the children miserable."

In my opinion, there cannot be a severer

" A little only should be learned at this early season; but that little, faithfully and well. For " it is an assured truth, which is contained in the verses,

' Scilicet ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes,
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.'*

" It taketh away the wildness and barbarism and fierceness of men's minds: but indeed the accent had need be upon *fideli-*

* Ingenuous arts, where they an entrance find,
Soften the manners, and subdue the mind.

cruelty, as well as a more erroneous judgment, than to compel a quick and lively boy, who can learn his lesson in half an hour, to sit, in all the anguish of impatience, upon the same bench, in one posture, for five or six times that space at once. It is ruinous to health,[x] by depriving boys of air and exercise; it destroys the spirits, by an unnatural coercion of the gaiety and activity, congenial with those years, and is calculated, by an immediate and powerful tendency, to inspire an abhorrence of learning never to be done away in future life.[y]

ter: for a little superficial learning doth rather work a contrary effect." Bacon's Works, 4to, 1. p. 33. W.

[x] "Under twelve years of age it should be an invariable rule, that the hours of application should never exceed those of amusement and exercise. The children that have made, within my knowledge, the quickest progress, felt the deepest interest in knowledge, and retained their acquisitions most firmly, were never detained at their books above an hour at a time, and seldom above half the time. So perpetually true is it, that the other most valuable objects are best secured by the very measures which regard to health enjoins." Dr. Beddoes' "Hygëia, or Essays Moral and Medical," &c, Essay III. p. 70.

[y] Ascham well observes, "that the schole-house should be in deede, as it is called by name, the house of play and pleasure, and not of feare and bondage."

Graio schola nomine dicta est,
Justa laborifetis tribuantur ut otia musis.*

Ascham's Scholemaster, in Works, 4to. p. 192. W.

* Ausonius, Edyll. 4.

In general, boys of the finest genius, and the most eager for improvement, are equally conspicuous in all youthful sports and exercises; and the prospect of diversion *after school hours* is the most rational and effectual spur to an industrious employment of them. No profit can be expected, unless an application to letters be made as *palatable* as possible, and the affections engaged by every suitable indulgence.

I speak on this point upon absolute conviction, resulting from theory, and experience; and am most certain, that a long and rigorous confinement of young people is attended with innumerable ill effects, both to the body and the mind. A distich of *Ovid* is my favourite maxim upon this subject.

> Et puer es, nec te quicquam, nisi ludere, oportet;
> Lude: decent annos mollia regna tuos.[z]

To this purpose also an observation quoted from a French author by Mr. Knox, in his in-

[z] Rem. Amor. v. 24.

> Youth is the smiling season of delight;
> Then play, a gentle reign befits thy years.

"The Muses, besides learning, were also ladies of daunceinge, mirthe and minstrelsie: Apollo was God of shooting, and author of cunning playing upon instrumentes. Wherebie was nothing else ment, but that learning should be alwaise mingled with honest mirthe, and comlie exercises."

Ascham's Scholemaster, Works, 4to. p. 238.

comparable "Treatise on Education," is exquisitely beautiful.

"Ces enfans, l'amour de leur Parens, l'espoir de la Patrie, sont-ils donc nés pour être malheureux? Savez-vous même s'ils vivront assez pour goûter quelques douceurs de la vie? Puisque le jour peut leur manquer, laissez-les un peu jouir de l'aurore."[a]

By the time I reacht my *eleventh* year, this good master, who erred only against *Solomon's* direction in being "righteous overmuch,"[b] was removed from his school to the rectory of Woollaton, near Nottingham, on the presentation of the then Lord Middleton, the residence of which family is fixed at that place; and my father was promoted to the vicarage of Kingston, with the chapelry of Richmond, where we now resided.

At Richmond I was placed under the tuition

[a] "Liberal Education," ii. 28. 11th edit. "Are children, the delight of their parents, the hope of their country, born to be unhappy? How do you know whether they will live to taste the sweets of life? Since they may never arrive at the *fullness* of day, let them at least enjoy the *morning*."

[b] Insani sapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,
Ultra quam satis est virtutem si petat ipsam.
Hor. Ep. i. 6. 15. W.

Even virtue, when pursued with warmth extreme,
Turns into vice, and fools the sage's fame. FRANCIS.

of my father's curate, one of those *pedagogical Jehus* mentioned by *South*; a man qualified neither by art nor by nature for this employment. In short, the sum total of my literary proficiency under this succession of masters, may with strict propriety be compared to certain *geometrical series*, in which the number of terms is continued indeed *in infinitum*, but the sum never equals *unity*. So that my acquisitions, in all these years, from the abilities of my numerous teachers, were literally *nothing*.

In the mean time my own application was unremitted; and I had gained some knowledge of words in spite of the insufficiency, laziness, and want of judgment, so conspicuous in this miscellany of worthy, or rather unworthy, preceptors.

At this last school I continued till September 1769. When I first went there, I began my acquaintance with the *Greek* language, and was introduced into the vestibule of *Homer's* Temple a short time previous to my departure. But if I may be said to have saluted the *Hero* from the threshold, he certainly had not yet acknowledged me as his votary.

And here I cannot but lament that inundation of dreadful evils, which are let in upon society by the tribe of unprincipled, or ineffective school-masters. The majority of young

men, who go to *College* after finishing their education at school, scarcely know, with tolerable accuracy, even the first rudiments of the languages.

Can imagination represent to herself a more melancholy case, than that of an ingenuous, enterprising youth, wasting his time and blasting his hopes, in a seminary of one of those ignorant, heedless, insipid teachers, with which the kingdom is overrun? This youth, of excellent capacity, and docile disposition, on coming to the *University*, finds others, though far inferior to himself in genius, yet, from the advantage of a skilful and conscientious master, so much beyond his own attainments, as almost to overwhelm him in despair.

"I have kept my son," said the Mayor of one of the first towns in this kingdom, "*six* or *seven* years with this fellow K——, learning Latin and Greek all this time; and, now he is come home, I find him unable to construe a prescription, or explain the inscriptions of the *gallipots*." In my humble opinion this enormous usurpation of stupidity and impudence ought to be made a *national* concern.[c]

[c] "The ancient wisdom of the best times did always make a just complaint, that states were too busy with their laws, and too negligent in point of education." Bacon's Works, 4to. I. p. 11. W.

To suffer the rising generation to be thus abused beyond all recovery from any future process, what is it but to blot the *spring* from the *year?* It may be assumed as an indisputable proposition, that no man of real taste and learning will ever keep a school but from *necessity*; and therefore this task devolves of course on poor curates in the *church*, and poor ministers among the *dissenters*; men useful and respectable in their proper functions, but, *for the most part*, scantily furnished with polite literature. Hence it comes to pass that a learned schoolmaster is rarely to be met with, but in those foundations, where the endowment bears some proportion to his merits.

For my own part, I look upon the generality of these preceptors as *robbers of hope* and *opportunity*, those blessings for which no compensation can be made. I cherish liberty, I think, with a warmth of attachment inferior to no man; but I should rejoice to see, I confess, some restrictions in the case before us. Men of acknowledged qualifications should be appointed to examine, with a scrupulous and conscientious accuracy, the competency of all those who undertake the teaching of the learned languages; and none should be allowed to exercise this arduous office, but those who could endure the *fiery trial.*

Society would be benefited beyond measure, and no real injury be done to the individual.

Men should *learn*, or be *taught*, the knowledge of themselves; nor should he aspire to adorn the mind, who is fit only to *trim a periwig*; or, in the vain attempt of acquiring science, leave uncultivated the capabilities of a commendable *shoemaker*.[d]

All quit their sphere, and rush into the skies.[e]

Every parent would be ready to intrust his children to the care of preceptors thus signa-

[d] 'This ignorancye in men, which knowe not for what time, and to what thing, they be fitte, causeth some wyshe to be riche, for whom it were better a greate deale to be poore; other to be medlinge in everye man's matter, for whom it were more honestye to be quiete and still. Some to desyre to be in the court, which be borne, and be fitter rather for the carte. Some to be maisters, and rule other, which never yet began to rule themselves; some always to iangle and taulke, which rather shoulde heare and kepe silence. Some to teache, which rather should learne. Some to be prieates, which were fitter to be clearkes. And this perverse judgemente of the worlde, when men measure themselves amisse, bringeth much disorder and great unsemelinesse to the hole body of the commonwealthe; as if a man should weare his hoose upon his heade, or a woman go with a sworde and a buckler, every man woulde take it as a greate uncumlinesse, although it be but a tryfle in respecte of the other.' Ascham's Toxoph. Works, 4to. 166. W.

[e] Pope, Ess. on Man, I. v. 124.

lized by the current stamp of approbation. Learning would find her reward in flourishing schools; her benefits would be scattered in profusion over the face of the community, and spring up daily in civilization, happiness, and virtue. Yet I am well aware that scholars are too often profligates in life, and disgrace those *letters*, which are not only calculated to improve the understanding, but have, I think, a *natural* tendency to dignify the mind, and humanize the heart. Yes: VIRTUE surely will confess her obligations to REAL LEARNING; and Theocritus had reason for his assertion in those *strains* of *immortality:*

Τεττιξ μεν τεττιγι φιλος, μυρμακι δε μυρμαξ,
Ἰρηκες δ' ἰρηξιν· εμιν δ' ἀ Μωσα και ὠδα.
Τας μοι πας ειη πλειος δομος· ὁτε γαρ ὑπνος,
Ουτ' εαρ εξαπινας γλυκερωτερον, ὁτε μελισσαις
Ανθεα, ὁσσον εμιν Μωσαι φιλαι· ὁυς γαρ ὁρευντι,
Γαθευσαι, τωσδ' ὁτι ποτῳ δαλησατο Κιρκα.[f]

Each insect tribe it's fellow-insect loves;
Each bird it's fellow: I, the Muse's song.
May my roof echo with her thrilling voice!
Nor slumber soft, nor breath of early spring
So sweet, nor honied flowrets to the bee.
Him, on whose infant breast the Muse's eye
Propitious glanc'd, nor sordid pleasures lure,
Nor wily Circe's fascinating cup.

But to return from this digression to my last

[f] Theocrit. ix. ad fin.

master. He had a curious mode of compensation for occasional acts of injustice. When, through an angry and blind precipitancy to which he was addicted, he had chastized one of his pupils for the fault of another, he was accustomed to promise the *sufferer* that the next real offence which he might commit should pass with *impunity*. Likewise the *improving* method, which he employed in our exercises, deserves memorial at least, if not imitation. Without specifying a single fault, the exercise was torn, thrown away with insolent disdain, and the sentence was, "Very BALD *Latin* indeed!"

This gentleman was occasionally teased with the itch of authorship. He published a single *sermon* first, then an *ode* on the king's birthday, then a *history* of *Egypt*, then a *novel*, and lastly a volume of sermons; all in such an incomprehensible style of pompous inanity, both of sentiment and diction, as, I believe, never was exhibited in the republic of letters till his own æra.[s]

[s] The reader will excuse me for quoting one paragraph from this author's *Sermons*; and I boldly challenge any man to point out it's superior from all those stores of eloquence, which rhetorical science, which energy and elegance of language, under the operation of genius, and in their happiest

From this inauspicious region, where every pleasing hope of future plenty was daily blasting, and no salutary influences cherished the rising faculties, I was happily removed, at the age of *thirteen* years, into a more genial climate, being transferred to the tuition of the Rev. RICHARD WOODDESON, who lived in my father's parish of Kingston-upon-Thames.

On this gentleman I never reflect but with sensations of pleasure, and sentiments of respect. He was, indeed, generally beloved by all his scholars. Such particulars of his life and fortunes as have come to my knowledge, will not be uninteresting to the reader who delights in virtue, and honours genius; whilst this memorial of gratitude must be deemed but a suitable oblation of a scholar's duty to the memory of his preceptor.

moments, have been able to produce. Indeed this specimen may be safely numbered among the prodigious exertions of the human faculties, expanded by learning and refined by taste. Our *accomplished* author alludes to the insidious attempts of a well-known writer to disparage the evidences of Christianity.

"Thus the historian *sheaths* the subtle *poison* in the *dress* of reading, and *diffuses* it abroad on the softer *wings* of candour: he spreads his *bright plumage* as if to *conceal latent* guile, and just leaves room to see it under the *fairest garb*."

"Cedite, Romani scriptores! cedite, Graii!"
"Ye little stars! hide your diminish'd rays." W.

" His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
Munere." [h]

" These gifts at least, these honours, I'll bestow." [i]

He was born some time about the year 1703, or 1704,[k] and was educated at Magdalen college, Oxford. Soon after his removal from the university, he was, I believe, a school-assistant at Reading in Berkshire; how long, I know not; and between 1732 and 1738 was chosen master of the free-school at Kingston-upon-Thames.[l] He continued here till the year 1772, with signal success, and with equal reputation. A considerable portion of the nobility and gentry in that neighbourhood, who had been educated within the period here specified, were trained under him.

Besides many scholars of considerable cha-

[h] Æn. VI. 885. [i] Pitt.

[k] At *Findon* in *Sussex*, as appears from the following lines of his pupil:

" Wooddeson! these eyes have seen thy natal earth
Thy *Findon*, sloping from the Southern downs."

LOVIBOND's Poems, p. 118.

[l] " There the good teacher held by turns to youth,
The blaze of fiction, and pure light of truth,
Who, less by precept than example fir'd,
Glow'd as he taught, inspiring, and inspir'd."

Character of Mr. Wooddeson in LOVIBOND's Poems, p. 198; see also p. 118.

racter, who never distinguished themselves as authors, and others probably, who have been conspicuous in the literary world, but unknown to me, the following well-known writers were indebted to his tuition:

"Plants of his hand, and children of his care."[m]

Mr. LOVIBOND, a writer in the world (who died in 1775, and a small volume of whose Poems was published in 1785); Mr. STEEVENS, the editor of "Shakspeare;" Mr. KEATE, author of the "Sketches of Nature," "Poems," and other respectable performances; Mr. GIBBON, the historian; Mr. HAYLEY, the poet; Mr. MASERES, Cursitor-baron of the Exchequer, of scientific fame, and who gained with the present bishop of London the Chancellor's medals, on the *first year* of their institution at *Cambridge*; and Mr. GEORGE HARDINGE, one of the Welsh judges, the only pupil whose gratitude exerted itself, with success at least, in procuring preferment for his master.

A living, either in Kent or Essex, was obtained by him for Mr. Wooddeson, if I rightly remember, from his uncle Lord Camden, at that time chancellor. And this was all the obligation which the church ever fastened on the good old gentleman.

[m] Pope's Eloisa.

In the latter part of his life, indeed, he used to preach once on a Sunday in Mr. Fordyce's chapel, at Roehampton; but this engagement answered no purpose of emolument, and furnished merely a little exercise for his body, and recreation for his mind; as the chaise-hire absorbed all the salary. On one of these occasions, when the family was from home, a favourite *cat*, which had made her way into Lady Margaret's pew, and fell asleep there, gave rise to the following verses from the facetious preacher:

ON A CAT SLEEPING IN CHAPEL.

The gentlefolk all gone from home,
Fine doings sure in such a case!
Puss then at liberty may roam,
Unaw'd from place to place:

May sport the China jars among,
On damask bed, or toilette,
And fears much less than Betty's tongue,
Her playful paw may spoil it.

Such was the time, she knew not why,
Puss to the chapel stray'd;
And, in the closet mounted high,
The folk below survey'd.

With pleasure she the place beheld,
And, all things to her mind,
The cushion, that so charming swell'd,
She lik'd;—and so reclin'd.

And now demure she seems, methinks,
Like any judge in furs;
And now mysteriously winks,
Or stately sits, and purs.

Then rising gapes, and yawns, and stretches;
Or to compose her listless pain,
Regardless what the parson preaches,
She stretches, yawns, and sleeps again.

Yet, gentle puss! one moment wake,
One transient look bestow,
And see how too your betters take,
Like you, their nap below.

Infirmities crowding thick upon old age, of itself a disease, Mr. Wooddeson relinquisht his school in the year 1772, removed to Chelsea, and died in 1774, or the latter end of 1773, I am not sure which. His son, and only surviving child, was *Vinerian Professor* in the university of Oxford, an office which he has since resigned after the publication of his Lectures. He is a gentleman of very respectable abilities, who exemplifies the well-known maxim of the poet:

" Fortes creantur fortibus; et bonis
Est in juvencis, est in equis, patrum
Virtus; nec imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquilæ columbam." [n]

[n] Hor. Carm. IV. 4. 29.

From valour, valour springs, from merit, worth;
The generous steer, the courser prove
The virtues of illustrious birth;
Nor do fierce eagles breed the timid dove.

BOSCAWEN.

When I was present, a few years ago, at the sale of the great *Dr. Bentley*'s library, on the death of his nephew of the same name, in Leicestershire, Dr. Jackson, a venerable clergyman of that county, and formerly of *Magdalen College*, Oxford (who died in October 1796, aged 88), was there at the same time. On hearing him mention his college, it instantly occurred to me, that he must be a contemporary with my old master at the university, and I accordingly askt him if he remembered Mr. Wooddeson at college. "Remember him!" said this amiable person, with eager accents, and eyes sparkling with benevolence: "remember him! we were nearly of the same age and standing. I had a great respect for him indeed; and often visited him at Kingston. But you shall judge of my friendship and affection for his memory, from a single circumstance. When his son was candidate for the *Vinerian professorship*, and the contest was likely to be severe, I came over at once from *Germany*, where I then was, *to Oxford*, merely to give my vote, and returned to the Continent

immediately, at the close of the election."—A specimen of regard which very sensibly affected my feelings, and was highly honourable to both parties! Happy the one to deserve such friendship! Happy the other thus to sacrifice his own ease to the memory of a friend who was no more! Death had severed their intercourse, but not disunited their affection: *that* still survived, beyond all suspicion of selfishness, when compensation was become impossible:

> " Fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt,
> Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo." [o]
>
> " Hail happy pair! if fame my *pen* can give,
> From age to age, your memory shall live." [p]

I never heard that Mr. Wooddeson gave any work to the public himself, besides a " Metrical Prosody" in *Latin* for the use of the school; and a *Sermon*, preached by him at the funeral of his friend Mr. Clarke, of Thames-Ditton. I have also been informed that two or three of the sermons in " Bellamy's Family Preacher" were written by him.

He had the liberal ideas of a scholar, and the amiable manners of a gentleman. In the treatment of his pupils, and his distributions to the poor, he was generous, even to indiscretion; so that, after a most flourishing school

[o] Æn. IX. 446. [p] Pitt.

for nearly *forty years*, he retired with loss from his employment; and his widow, I believe, had the mournful consolation of experiencing the kind attentions of an affectionate and grateful son.

As a scholar, he was to a certain compass exact and elegant; acquainted with but few authors, but they were the best; and these he had read again and again with discernment and taste, both in private study, and in the rotation of scholastic discipline. The bent of his genius inclined him to the *ode* and *epigram*; [q]

[q] I recollect two or three proofs of his *epigrammatic* turn in the subjects for our exercises. On *the instability of the vulgar* he would sometimes give for a thesis a hemistich from "Propria quæ maribus;" no great storehouse, one would presume, of moral sentiment:

"Neutrum modo, mas modo, vulgus."

On the necessity of *ready money to form the gentleman* of modern days, part of a verse from "As in præsenti" furnisht a subject, assisted by a small alteration of *orthography*, with a similar pronunciation:

"Æs in præsenti perfectum format."

There were two passages on which he always dwelt with peculiar rapture; one of "Horace," and one of "Virgil;" both, doubtless, exquisite in their kind.

"Format enim Natura priùs nos intùs ad omnem
Fortunarum habitum; juvat, aut impellit ad iram;
Aut ad humum mærore gravi deducit, et angit.
Hor. Art. Poet. v. 108.

compositions suited to a mind not very much enlarged. Yet what he knew, he knew as a man of elegance and sensibility; but was neither critical nor profound. He had a relish for neat and correct writing, but did not rise to the magnificent and sublime, either in his taste or conceptions: Prior was his great and only favourite among the *English* poets.

" Nil præter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum." [r]

He was very rigid in requiring *elegant English* from his scholars in construing Greek and Latin authors, almost to a degree of fastidious affectation. But his method of *writing Latin* was particularly injudicious, and improper; and to this day I feel the effects of my master's instructions in this respect, composing with hesitation and difficulty in that language, from the vices of early habit.

His choice of books was, however, on the whole, highly proper; his distribution of the time between prose and poetry well adjusted;

" Multa dies variusque labor mutabilis ævi
Rettulit in melius: multos alterna revisens
Lusit, et in solido rursus Fortuna locavit."
ÆN. XI. v. 425. W.

[r] Hor. Sat. I. 10. 19. " Calvus, Catullus only suit his vein."

and his exaction of attendance in the school, provided we were ready with our lessons when called, was always moderate. A very good practice—frequent intervals of leisure, but some exercise to perform in them. This exacts diligence, but with less constraint, by not being limited to a certain hour. His whole conduct, indeed, was so engaging in all its circumstances, as to make every scholar happy under his gracious and gentle reign.*

Mr. Wooddeson, like the generality of *Oxford's* sons, was in his *political* opinions a *Tory*, and *orthodox* in his *theology:* an enemy to all oppugners of royal power and established religion.

I have in my possession an *Alcaic Poem*, written by Mr. Wooddeson, upon the *Radcliffe* Library in Oxford. It is of unequal excellence, and has, I believe, been inaccurately transcribed. Some stanzas shall be quoted be-

* A fine trait of benevolent nature is recorded by Plutarch:

Αναξαγορας δε τας διδομενας αφεις τιμας, ητησατο την ημεραν εκεινην, καθ' ην αν τελευτηση, τους παιδας αφιεναι παιζειν και σχολαζειν απο των μαθηματων. Plut. edit. Reiske, IX. 264.

But Anaxagoras, declining the honours which were offered him, requested that on the day of his death, they would let the boys play, and be released from their studies.

low, and they will do credit to the talents of their author.

Quâ non Lycæum deficit alterum,
Sermonibus quod Socraticis madet:
Non deficit volvens Ilissus
Lenis aquas strepitu loquaces.

Fontes aprici hic sunt, nemora et sacra,
Sub nocte serâ lusciniæ modis
Et voce doctorum per umbras
Multisonâ modulata vatum.

Then follows an address of these bards to *Radcliffe*, of which the following stanzas are a part:

Exsangue corpus tu medicâ manu
Instantis Orci faucibus eripis;
Redintegras roburque victum
Tu senibus macie et puellis;

Longâ peresis tu roseum decus
Reddis genarum: te medico, minus
Febres timebant, invidasque
Variolas, venerum rapaces.

Fugêre visum te, varium genus,
Morbi: gravi te Phthisis anhelitu
Et claudicans lente Podagra, et
Plenus aquis sitibundus Hydrops.

Novas Alecto cogitet irrita
Artes nocendi: multiplices licet
Mentita formas, non sagacem
Radclivium Libitina fallat. W.

Under this gentleman's tuition I commenced my acquaintance with a few of the most capital productions of Greece and Rome; and laid such a foundation in classic literature, as enabled me, on my transplantation to college, to pursue my solitary studies with pleasure to myself, and with some prospect of success.

When I was first settled at this school, I was fortunately placed between the two best scholars, in a good class, each at that time much my superiors, especially in the *composition* both of poetry and prose.

This was a juncture suited to my ambition, and extremely favourable to improvement. I rested not night or day in redeeming my time, endeavouring still, and endeavouring to raise myself to the level of my associates, from the station to which the unskilfulness and inattention of my former tutors had depressed me.

After no long interval of unremitted diligence, I was generally allowed an equality with my fellows; except that in the art of versification, mere study could never attain that elegant facility which distinguisht Mr. William Currie, since a member of Parliament, who, to the loss of Literature herself, was not suffered to indulge his taste by finishing the career of a learned education.—His modesty I hope will

excuse this trivial homage of disinterested friendship, which his merits so well deserved.

One who frequently visited Mr. Wooddeson, as well as our family at Richmond, was the *Rev. George Harvest*, fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge, and for many years curate of Thames-Ditton, one of my father's chapels: a man of great moral rectitude and solid understanding, but of an unequalled singularity of manners, and no less obliquity of mind. His derelictions of attention were not surpassed by those which the fruitfulness of sportive fancy has recorded of the ever-memorable *Parson Adams*. A few specimens of his oddities will serve not merely to delight the *humourist*, but may contribute also not a little to assist the *philosophical analyst* in his lucubrations on the human understanding.

Mr. Harvest past much of his time in the family of *Lord O*——, his parishioner, and was not unfrequently exhibited to the visitors as a subject of merriment and curiosity, but without insolence on one side, or servility on the other.

One night he was sitting with Lady O—— and the family, amidst the pageantry of politeness, in the front box of a London theatre. In this conspicuous situation, poor Harvest, on pulling out his handkerchief, brought with it

an *old greasy night-cap*, which fell into the pit. "Who owns this?" cries a gentleman below, elevating the trophy in full display on the point of his cane: "Who owns this?" The unaffected simplicity of our divine, little considering the delicate sensations of his friends, and overjoyed at the recovery of this valuable *chattel*, eagerly darts out his hand, seizes the cap, and, in the action, cries out, "It is mine!" The party were utterly disconcerted at the circumstance, and blusht for their companion, who in the mean time wondered at their confusion, and rather expected the sympathies of benevolence with the joy of their friend, at this happy recovery of his property.

On another occasion, Harvest accompanied his patron into France; and, during the necessary delay at some post-town, our contemplative parson rambled about after a bookseller's shop, and found one. Here he amused himself awhile with his favourite companions; but at last reflected, that his friends were in haste to depart, and might be much incommoded by his stay.

He had forgotten the name of the inn, and to expect *him* to find a road merely because he had traversed it before, was to expect that *Theseus* should unravel the *Dædalean* labyrinth without the thread of *Ariadne*. Not a word of

French could our traveller speak, to be understood, but recollected the sign of the inn to be a *lion*. Still, how to make the bookseller comprehend this, was the difficulty.

Harvest, however, tall and sturdy, raised himself, to the no small terror of the bookseller, with projected and curvetting arms, into the formidable attitude of a *lion-rampant*; and succeeded at length, by a repetition of this happy effort, in suggesting an idea of a lion to the staring Frenchman. But another difficulty of a more arduous nature now presented itself. There are *black* lions, and *red* lions, and *white* lions; of which last colour was the lion in question.

Now no two-footed creature, under the sun could less exemplify that admirable maxim of the Presbyterian divine, that "*Cleanliness is next to godliness,*" [a] than the hero of our story, who was *Slovenliness in person.*

Harvest therefore to complete the aggregate, and impress upon the sensorium of the bookseller the specific idea not of a *lion* only, but of a *white* lion, unbuttons his waistcoat, and shews his shirt. Then, by woeful expe-

[a] Lord Bacon remarks that "cleanness of body was ever esteemed to proceed from a due reverence to God, to society, and to ourselves." Works, 4to. i. p. 70. W.

rience, he was convinced, to his cost, of the truth of that *Virgilian* verse:

"Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas!" [x]
Such is the force of all prevailing time!

for alas! like the *raven* of old,

"Qui color albus erat, nunc est contrarius albo." [y]

In another region, our uncleanly countryman might have severely rued his inattention to the decencies of life; but the polite *Frenchman* put a *candid* construction upon the case, and extricated the grim ecclesiastic from his distress, by a safe conveyance to the White Lion inn.

This unthinking visionary would stay at my father's, day after day, totally insensible of the lapse of time: till on the Saturday afternoon it became necessary to admonish him of the expediency of returning to his Sunday's duty.

He once engaged to go with an acquaintance a journey of some extent. When the travellers had proceeded ten or twelve miles, they stopped at the inn of a country town. "I will step out," says Harvest, "for a few minutes, to see a friend, and will return imme-

[x] Æn. 3. 415. [y] Ovid Met. 2. 541.

diately." He met with his friend, entered into conversation with him, thought no more of his fellow traveller, who waited in vain, and was compelled to go on without him. Harvest returned home, as usual, at the call of his weekly function on the sabbath.

Our *Adonis*, early in life, was to have married a daughter of Dr. Edmond Gibson, bishop of London, (who afterwards, more happily, disposed of her accomplishments to Dr. Wilson, the late bishop of Bristol:) and, as the story goes, forgot the day of his intended nuptials. He overslept himself, and at twelve o'clock starts up, and cries—"L——d bless me! I was to have been married to day!" The authenticity of this narrative Harvest utterly denied to my father: "The truth was," says he, "I found myself unable to make good my engagements to the bishop." For it was commonly said that this guileless and upright *Nathanael* had appropriated an independent fortune of his own, to discharge the debts of his father, who had been an eminent brewer at Kingston-upon-Thames; and in consequence of this truly noble conduct, never to be enough commended and admired! lived on a curacy of *less than one hundred pounds* a year for the remainder of his days; receiving his money as

he wanted it, by *half-crowns*, from his *banker*, the *clerk*.

He continued curate of Thames-Ditton, and fellow of his college, from which he received little or no emolument, to his death, which happened about twenty years ago.

I know but of two publications from this extraordinary character; one, a volume of sermons, and the other, a pamphlet against Dr. Chandler in the *subscription-controversy*; neither of them much known to fame. He was, however, let the merit of these pieces be what it will, a man undoubtedly of extensive reading, and an elegant classic taste.[z]

[z] I remember an *impromptu* from him on the heavy rains in 1770, which, for the seriousness of the sentiment, and the simple neatness of the expression, demands such preservation at least as this work can give it.

" Quod non solvamus sceleratæ crimina vitæ,
Cœlum pro nobis solvitur in lachrymis."

He publisht also in the newspaper a smart copy *of iambics*, in opposition to a charge of drunkenness made against him by some antagonist on the other side of the subscription-question: a charge, I am persuaded, not *generally* just, though his extraordinary absence of mind might occasionally betray him into this brutish vice, or the malice of companions take advantage of his simplicity. I am sorry to remember but three lines of

But it is time for me to resume my own history. As Mr. Wooddeson was on the eve of giving up his school, and my father, though I was not yet *sixteen years* old, had judiciously determined to place me under no other master, a situation at college became now the object of attention.

Dr. Jeffries, since a residentiary of St. Pauls, but then a canon of Christ-church, kindly offered his assistance in procuring for me a studency in that house.

I never reflect but with profound gratitude to the Almighty Superintendant of my existence, on that predilection of my father for his own college in *Cambridge*, which rescued me from a place of education, where no such studies are the objects of academical emulation, as are calculated to give full exercise to the reasoning and investigating faculties of the mind; or rather, I believe, if we may credit her own sons, no established studies of any kind whatever. Their powers of invention are unexerted, their ambition is at rest.

this copy of verses; and the classical reader, I think, will be gratified by their insertion.

" Madeo, libentèr fateor; ast ex fontibus
Quos tu, tuique simile pecus ignavius
Nunquàm labellis attigistis extimis." W.

" Still as the sea, ere winds began to blow,
Or moving spirit bade the waters flow."

Boswell, speaking of one of their journeys to Oxford, says, by way of encomium, " He (Dr. Johnson) bore the journey very well, and seemed to feel himself elevated, as he approached *Oxford*, that magnificent and venerable seat of *learning*, *orthodoxy*, and *toryism*." [a]

And truly orthodox theology, high church politics, and passive obedience to the powers that be, sit enthroned there, and spread their stupifying influence through the atmosphere around them. Alas, how changed from the venerable nurse of *Hales*, *Chillingworth*, and *Locke*, in better days!

——————————— " nutrix
Heroum, dum tempus erat, melioribus annis." [b]

Suns of intellect and virtue! illuminating and warming the universe with the beams of knowledge, and the glow of liberty! [c]

[a] Boswell's Life of Dr. Johnson, v. iii. p. 546. ed. 2d.

[b] I. H. Browne " De An. Immort." Lib. I. v. 106.

" Parent of heroes too in better days."

SOAME JENYNS.

[c] The censures on the university of Oxford, however well deserved during the lifetime of Mr. Wakefield, will probably be done away in the course of a few years, by the attention

At that time a scholarship, in Jesus College, Cambridge, became vacant. It was founded

which has lately been excited there towards the revival of science and literature. Several very worthy members of that university, feeling for its credit, and observing with what ardour the young men of Cambridge pursued the course of study so judiciously laid down for them before they were admitted to their first degree, determined, if possible, to excite a similar spirit among themselves; and for this purpose attempted to introduce public examinations. The measure met with some resistance, and of course is not entirely calculated to produce all the benefits desired by the first proposers. As the law however stands, which passed on the first of May 1800, public Examiners are appointed, and no one can be admitted to his first degree, without their examination and approbation. Besides these, to which every young man who is candidate for a degree must submit, there are *extraordinary* examinations in the third week of the Easter term, to which may be admitted all those who have entered upon their twelfth term, but have not completed their sixteenth term. Of the persons who submit to this voluntary examination a list is made according to the degree of merit they appear to possess; and the names of the twelve first are read in the house of convocation, and afterwards printed and sent to every head of a college, to each college-hall, and to the libraries. The examinations for the degree of Bachelor of Arts are in Rhetoric, Logic, moral Philosophy, the elements of Mathematics and natural Philosophy, the rudiments of Religion, and the Thirty-nine Articles. The chief defect in the Oxonian plan is, the option which is left to the young men of becoming candidates, or not, for public honours, and the small number which can be placed in the public catalogue. The examination is also too public. At Cambridge, all the young men who are of the

not many years before by Mr. Marsden, archdeacon of Nottingham, for the son of a living clergyman born in that town: both which conditions were united in me. *Dr. Caryl* too, the master of the college, had long been an intimate acquaintance of my father, and was a Nottinghamshire man, his father being rector of Cotgrave. These inducements contributed to establish me in that college; where I was admitted in April 1772; and my transport and enthusiasm, at going thither, are still alive.

proper standing enter the Senate-house, but no other young men are admitted, nor any under the degree of Master of Arts. A list is then made according to the proficiency of the candidates. A certain number are ranged in the list of honours; a considerable number follows neither honoured nor disgraced; and a small list is sometimes made, but not always, which contains the incorrigibly stupid or idle, and covers them with merited disgrace. Thus honour and shame have their full effect; and it is remarkable that though the examinations for these honours are confined to mathematics and natural philosophy, moral philosophy and metaphysics, yet the experience of fifty years has ascertained that the best mathematicians are also generally the best classics. During that period there have been given away every year two medals to the two best classical scholars. Of these medals, sixty-three have been obtained by persons in the first list of honours, and thirty-seven only by those in the second list of honours, though the second lists are not unfrequently more numerous than the first.

CHAP. III.

Dr. Caryl, Master of Jesus College—Tutors of Jesus College—Founder—Eminent Members of that Society, &c.

1772.

Dr. Lynford Caryl, master of Jesus College at the time of my admission, in 1772, was a gentleman distinguished for the affability of his manners, and the regularity of his life. His most conspicuous singularity was a *balanced precision* and a *sententious brevity* of expression. He was esteemed without an equal for the dexterous and prudent management of university elections. On occasion of one of these, which was contested with uncommon ardour and animosity, on both sides, after the committee, of which he was a member, had been deliberating with great seriousness on the posture of affairs, upon their separation for adjournment, he observed with inimitable solemnity, interposing, as his custom was, half a dozen seconds between every word—"Gen–tle–men! we– shall– ei–ther– lose– this– election, or– we– shall– win– this– election."—Here a considerable pause took place, and he seemed to labour with the pregnancy of the sentiment.

The committee lookt at each other with a mixture of merriment and wonder; unable to fathom the profundity of this sage remark. They were reminded, I presume, of that fine ridicule of the *Oracle-mongers* of antiquity:

> "O! Laertiade! quicquid dicam, aut erit aut non."[d]
>
> "O! son of great Laertes, every thing
> Shall come to pass, or shall not, as I sing."[e]

Their impatience and propensity to laughter interrupted the speaker before the conclusion of his assertion. He began afresh:—"Gentlemen! we– shall– either– lose– this– election– or– we– shall– win– this– election– by—a SINGLE– VOTE"—A prediction exactly correspondent to the event.

He acted for some years as bursar to the college, and was remarkably methodical and accurate in his accounts. To the church of *Canterbury* he was essentially serviceable in this respect, by arranging and settling books and papers, before his time, become almost useless by inextricable disorder. This service he performed during his occasional residence in that city, as a *prebendary* of the cathedral, to which he was instituted by the Duke of Newcastle, in the evening of that minister's reign.

[d] Hor. Sat. II. 5, 59. [e] Francis.

He was twice *Vice-chancellor* of the *University;* and acquitted himself on both occasions in this office with distinguished applause. In the college parlour is a painting of him, habited academically, as a *Doctor of Divinity*. It was presented by his niece, Mrs. Roberts.

The *College Tutors*, at my admission, were Messrs. *Milner* and *Darby;* both respectable for their abilities, but, in my opinion, deficient in that activity and zeal absolutely requisite for such a momentous office.

They were preferred afterwards to *college-livings*. Mr. Milner to Tewin, in Hertfordshire, where he died, after a short residence in that place. He had the character of a very skilful botanist, and his Hortus Siccus was spoken of as uncommonly excellent. Mr. Darby settled at *Whatfield*, near *Hadleigh* in *Suffolk*; and married a daughter of the memorable Dr. Jortin. He was a man of good learning, and most placid and amiable manners. He died in April 1794.

The *founder* of *Jesus College* was *John Alcock, Bishop of Ely*, in the time of Henry the seventh. There is in the college library an original painting of him, from which I have an engraving. He is represented with elevated hands; in a kneeling attitude, in the act of prayer.

There is in the picture, which is omitted by the engraver, a label proceeding from the bishop's mouth, with this inscription—"Omnia mea tua sunt."[f] On his right hand reclines a crosier, and by his left a mitre rests upon a tablet. Beneath is written: Johannes Alcock, Episc. Eliens. Totius Angliæ Cancellr. Fundr. Coll. Jesu. Cantab. A. D. 1497.[g]

And now I am entered on the subject of Jesus College, I will mention some of the celebrated characters that have been educated in our society, not undertaking to specify *all* who are known to Fame; though, I believe, not many such will be excluded from my list.

The first on record is *Archbishop Cranmer*, the great instrument in the reformation of religion in this country: too well known in our history to need any further notice here. He was twice fellow of the college.

In the college parlour is an *original* painting of this prelate, from which the engravings

[f] "All mine are thine." JOHN xvii. v. 10.

[g] The childish device of this founder—a pun upon his name, All-cock;—viz. a cock perching upon a globe, is conspicuous in every part of the college. On one window was a cock with a label from his mouth with this inscription: "Εγω ειμι αλεκτωρ." "I am a cock." To whom another, on the opposite side, bravely crows in answer, "Ουτως και εγω." "And so am I." W.

are taken. It was presented to the society by *Lord Middleton*, who was educated at Jesus; and it came into his possession through his lady, one of the *Cartwright* family, and a lineal descendant [h] from *Cranmer;* a circumstance which proves the inaccuracy of some modern historian, in asserting that none of Cranmer's posterity were remaining. I understand also that he has descendants of the same name living at *Mitcham* in *Surry.*

Rapin, by a strange blunder, makes Cranmer an *Oxford man.* [i] Alas! my *aunt* has triumphed over my *mother* in many instances. When the famous *Dr. Conyers Middleton* introduced himself to the keeper of the *Vatican* library at *Rome*, as the public librarian of the university of Cambridge, the Italian supposed Cambridge to be merely a school subservient to Oxford. But, what makes us even, I once

[h] "Cranmer died a bachelor, consequently had no *lineal* descendants. He was the eldest of several children. The late Rev. Edward Cranmer, vicar of St. Bride's, London, and of Quendon, Essex, was lineally descended from one of Cranmer's brothers, and had an original painting of him and a family pedigree (now in possession of his widow at Quendon). —— Cranmer, Esq. of Quendon Hall, Essex, (with some of the same name at Mitcham, Surry,) is regularly descended as above." Communicated by the Rev. JOHN PRIDDEN.

[i] Rapin's History, fol. 2d ed. I. 785. See Tindal's note.

travelled with a young Popish Priest just arrived from Ireland, who askt me, what university we had in England besides *London?* I told him, Oxford and Cambridge. "Indeed!" says he, "I never heard of them before."

I must now confine myself to the literati of a more modern period.

Dr. Charles Ashton was chosen master in 1701, and held that office about fifty years. He died at a very advanced age, and lies buried in the college chapel. He is mentioned in "Whiston's Memoirs" as the last survivor of those heads of houses concerned in the dispossession of that *heretic* from the professorship of Mathematics. He was originally of *Queen's*, and chosen thence by the bishop of Ely, who nominates the master according to the statutes of the founder.

Dr. Ashton (to whom Hughes dedicated "Chrysostom de Sacerd.") was distinguished by simplicity of manners, and universally esteemed one of the best classical scholars of the age in which he lived; and was greatly respected in this character by the *Coryphæus* in that branch of literature, *Dr. Richard Bentley*, whom, however, he is too much inclined to disparage at every step in his "Hierocles;" and passes over without praise the many judicious emendations of that critic, which he

adopts. For the edition of the "Commentary on Pythagoras's Golden Verses," which goes under the signature of *R. W.* (*Warren*) was executed by this gentleman.

His notes are very learned and judicious, admirably calculated to explain the author; and shew an accurate and extensive acquaintance with the *Platonic* doctrines, and the writers of that school. The notes also in *Reading*'s edition of "Origen de Oratione" are his.[k] Since his death an edition of "Justin Martyr's Dialogues" (which is also worthy of great praise) has been published from his papers by *Mr. Kellar*, formerly fellow of the college, to whom he bequeathed them. Several of his books are now deposited in the *college-library*, with margins copiously stored with remarks, and particularly "Tertullian." I have seen these remarks, but not examined them so as to speak with propriety of their merits.

When Dr. Ashton kept his *Divinity Act* for his degree, Sherlock, afterwards bishop of London, was, if I mistake not, his first *opponent*; who, upon hearing that Ashton had destroyed his papers, said that he would have given a hundred pounds to rescue from the flames his *thesis* on the above occasion. I

[k] See "Whiston's Memoirs," p. 271 and 374. W.

mention this on the authority of *Dr. Comber*, who said that Dr. Ashton threw his papers into the fire from vexation, on finding some of *his own sermons*, which he was going to publish, among those of *Dr. Warren* (printed 1739), which he had lent to the doctor.

I have a print of Dr. Ashton, in his clerical robes, with this inscription: "Charles Ashton, D. D. late Master of Jesus Coll. Camb. and Prebendary of Ely." It was engraven from a picture (in the possession of the college) taken after he was dead.

Dr. Styan Thirlby was fellow, and tutor of the college during the mastership of Dr. Ashton. He wrote on the *Trinitarian* controversy; but is better known to the world as the editor of "Justin Martyr," published in 1723, which is indeed an excellent performance.

The preface has always been particularly admired by scholars, and is itself worth all the money for which this elegant and useful edition generally sells. It contains, among other things, a most sarcastical and finished invective against Dr. Bentley: at whose impenetrable armour of *cœlestial mould*, the critics, both Oxford and Cambridge men, both aliens and his own brethren, in those days, very generally united in brandishing their *bull-rushes*, from an igno-

minious jealousy, I fear, of his superior acquirements.

It might be said of Bentley as of the shield of the *Trojan* hero:

——————— "Unum omnia contra
Tela Latinorum."[1]

Alone sufficient to sustain the war. DRYDEN.

Also in several notes in the body of the work our editor pours out some of the same *venom* on that incomparable critic; the *phantom* that seems perpetually to have haunted the imaginations of these secondary scholars, and disturbed their repose. His opposition to Dr. Bentley, however, was one, among the *three follies* of his life, of which Thirlby is said to have repented.

Next to him may properly be ranked his admirable pupil *Dr. John Jortin*, "Memoirs of whose Life and Writings" were published in 1792, by my valued friend Dr. Disney; and whose character has been sketched by the masterly pencil of my friend, Dr. Samuel Parr.[m]

[1] Æn. VIII. 447.

[m] Such readers as have not had an opportunity of perusing that celebrated composition will no doubt be gratified by seeing it quoted in this place, as the work in which it is contained is now become very scarce.

It would be presumptuous in me to think of emulating so exquisite an artist.

" As to Jortin, whether I look back to his verse, to his prose, to his critical, or to his theological works, there are few authors to whom I am so much indebted for rational entertainment, or for solid instruction. Learned he was, without pedantry. He was ingenious, without the affectation of singularity. He was a lover of truth, without hovering over the gloomy abyss of scepticism; and a friend to free-enquiry, without roving into the dreary and pathless wilds of latitudinarianism. He had a heart which never disgraced the powers of his understanding. With a lively imagination, an elegant taste, and a judgement most masculine and most correct, he united the artless and amiable negligence of a school-boy. Wit without ill-nature, and sense without effort, he could, at will, scatter upon every subject; and in every book, the writer presents us with a near and distinct view of the real man.

' ———— ut omnis
Votiva pateat tanquam descripta tabella
Vita Senis ———— ' Hor. Sat. i. lib. 2.

" His style, though inartificial, is sometimes elevated: though familiar, it is never mean; and though employed upon various topics of theology, ethics, and criticism, it is not arrayed in any delusive resemblance, either of solemnity, from fanatical cant; of profoundness, from scholastic jargon; of precision, from the crabbed formalities of cloudy philologists; or of refinement, from the technical babble of frivolous connoisseurs.

" At the shadowy and fleeting reputation which is sometimes gained by the petty frolics of literary vanity, or the mischievous struggles of controversial rage, Jortin never grasped. Truth, which some men are ambitious of seizing by surprize in

Ου μην διωξω, κεινος ειην. [n]

" Non ita certandi cupidus." [o]

the trackless and dark recess, he was content to overtake in the broad and beaten path: and in the pursuit of it, if he does not excite our astonishment by the rapidity of his strides, he, at least, secures our confidence by the firmness of his step. To the examination of positions advanced by other men, he always brought a mind, which neither prepossession had seduced, nor malevolence polluted. He imposed not his own conjectures as infallible and irresistible truths, nor endeavoured to give an air of importance to trifles, by dogmatical vehemence. He could support his more serious opinions, without the versatility of a sophist, the fierceness of a disputant, or the impertinence of a buffoon;—more than this, he could *relinquish or correct* them with the calm and steady dignity of a writer, who, while he yielded something to the arguments of his antagonists, was conscious of retaining enough to command their respect. He had too much discernment to confound difference of opinion with malignity or dullness, and too much candour to insult, where he could not persuade. Though his sensibilities were neither coarse nor sluggish, he yet was exempt from those fickle humours, those rankling jealousies, and that restless waywardness, which men of the brightest talents are too prone to indulge. He carried with him, into every station in which he was placed, and every subject which he explored, a solid greatness of soul, which could spare an inferior, though in the offensive form of an adversary, and endure an equal with, or without, the sacred name of friend. The importance of commendation, as well

[n] Pind. Ol. 3. v. 81.

No more; I will not urge the vain attempt.

[o] Lucret. III. v. 5.

by that amiable spirit of benevolence and piety, which breathes through every page of the performance, entitle this production to universal notice and veneration; and render it worthy even of *their* attention, who may not feel themselves interested in the general theory which it professes to establish.

And here I will beg leave to ask the author of that life of Hartley, prefixed to the late edition of his works, with what propriety and consistency a man, who "was restrained by some scruples, upon a closer consideration of the conditions attached to the *clerical* profession, which made him reluctant to subscribe the thirty-nine articles;" how such a man, I say, could be a "*well-affected* member of the *Church of England*, approving of it's practical doctrines, and conforming to its public worship?"

It is almost certain that his principal objections must have been against those points, which enter so *generally* into the *texture* of the public prayers, or the imposition of *subscription*.

As for the *practical* doctrines of the Church of England, they are the practical doctrines of every other church; that is, the leading precepts of morality and religion.

Such indeterminate and comprehensive as-

sertions wear too much an appearance of artifice and dissimulation, and will be deemed, even by the candid, a disingenuous effort in a son of *orthodoxy*, to include this most amiable of men, whose memory I love and venerate, within the pale of his own communion.

Mr. Hartley (for so I shall call him, as he and his family seem to have set a higher value on his *Cambridge* degree *in Arts*, than his *medical distinction* of the same kind) like most other dissatisfied members of the establishment, unwilling to join the Dissenters of any description, from a dislike to their *mode* of worship, acquiesced in attending the services of the Church of England, in preference to an absolute relinquishment of the public profession of religion altogether.

But a person of this description can be *well-affected* to his church in no other sense, than a physician is well-affected to his patient, in wishing it different from what it is; in desiring alteration and amendment. These transient observations have their origin in a love of truth and honesty; in a desire to see every fact delineated in its proper colours.

Had Hartley's plan of life led him to enter more minutely into the theological discussions of those days, and his profession interested him in the avowal of his *Creed*, there can be

no doubt but so exalted a mind, and so virtuous a heart, would have rested in nothing short of a public and explicit declaration of his sentiments—a renunciation of the doctrines of that church to which he was so "*well-affected*"—and his conduct would undoubtedly have been in perfect unison with his sentiments.

Who can look on the delightful image of his person, prefixed to his work,[q] without powerful emotions of love and admiration for the original? His "human face divine" appears the residence of all that is good and great; it exhibits the intuition of genius, made venerable and lovely by a mixture of sweetness, modesty, gentleness, and complacency, beyond description.

My short catalogue of literary worthies, members of our college, will be closed with *Lawrence Sterne*, more known to vulgar fame than the illustrious character which we have just been contemplating. Oh! that the sentiments of benevolence and pity which adorn his writings, had been transferred to the embellishment of his life.

I might mention, though in a less distinguished class, *Mr. Francis Fawkes* (who died in 1777, aged 52), the translator of *Apollonius*

[q] In the 4to. edition.

Rhodius, *Theocritus*, and *Anacreon*; the author also of some *original* poems not destitute of merit: and *Mr. Nevile*, no unsuccessful modernizer of the *Latin Satyrists*. Some of the imitations of this gentleman have a degree of ease, gracefulness, and vivacity, which render them extremely worthy of perusal.

A passage in Mr. Nevile's imitation of *Horace* may be justly applied to himself.

> "'Tis your's to act the just, the candid part,
> Your's the rare union of the head and heart;
> Engaging manners, temper well-inclin'd,
> Sense, and the freedom to declare the mind."[r]

He was acquainted with Bishop Warburton, Mr. Gray, and Bishop Hurd; and was greatly respected for his mild and inoffensive manners: but distinguished by many innocent singularities, and an uncommon shyness.

In the ante-chapel of Jesus College, which was originally a *Nunnery*, are several monuments of very high antiquity. One bears date 1261, with this inscription:

> "Moribus ornata jacet hic Bonaberta Rosata."

There is one inscribed 1007, to the memory of a *prior*—"hujusce loci prior," says the stone; and therefore was probably trans-

[r] Nevile's "Imitations of Hor." Ep. I. 4.

ferred to this chapel at the dissolution of *Barnwell Priory*, situated within three quarters of a mile from the college, the ruins of which are still in being.

Jesus College is rurally situated at some distance from the body of the town, on the Newmarket-road, and is admirably calculated, from the fields and gardens with which it is encompassed, for pleasing and peaceful contemplation. *James I.*, of whom more quaint and humourous sayings are recorded than of almost any prince, after passing some days at Cambridge, observed, with characteristic propriety, that were he to live in the university, he would *pray* at *King's* (the chapel of which college has no parallel for curiosity of architecture and *Gothic* beauty), *eat* at *Trinity* (a college remarkable for its fine hall), and *study* and *sleep* at *Jesus.*[*]

[*] A Dr. Boldero, one of the masters of Jesus College in the last century, lies buried in the chapel. This gentleman had been treated with particular severity during the *Protectorate*, for his attachment to the *royal* cause, in which also the *Bishop of Ely*, at that time, had been an equal sufferer. On a vacancy of the mastership, Boldero, without any pretensions to the appointment, in *plain English*, plucks up his spirits, or, in *Homer*'s language, "speaks to his magnanimous mind, *

* Ειπε προς ον μεγαλητορα θυμον.

"*Fortem* hoc *animum* tolerare jubebo."

Hor. Sat. II. 5. 20. W.

and present his petition to the Bishop. "Who are you?" says his Lordship, "I know nothing of you; I never heard of you before." "My Lord! I have suffered long and severely for my attachment to our royal master, as well as your Lordship has. I believe your Lordship and I have been in *all the gaols in England.*" "What does the fellow mean? Man! I never was confined in any prison but *the Tower.*" "And, my Lord!" said Boldero, "I have been in all the rest myself."—The Bishop's heart relented, and he good-naturedly admitted the claim of his petitioner.

CHAP. IV.

Account of Studies at College—Dr. Brown's Medals—Bishop Law's Sermon on the 5th of November, 1773—Scraping of the Proctor—Mr. Homer—Dr. Farmer—Dr. Ogden.

1772—1775.

As soon as I was settled in college, I resumed my *classical* studies, which had suffered a long suspension by a most severe sore throat and fever, fatal to multitudes at that time, and by a vacation of several months.

Our college lectures in *Algebra* and *Logic*, were odious to me beyond conception; and I am persuaded by experience, that *Logic* and *Metaphysics* are by no means calculated for those early years. Upon this point I shall have occasion to descant in connexion with a future juncture of my life, and therefore omit any further disputation here.

As to the *Elements* of *Geometry* and *Algebra*, these are in themselves so extremely plain, so accessible to every capacity, and carry with them such beautiful and engaging evidence—Truth in her very essence!—that I can scarcely account for an indisposition to such theories,

but from a defect of judgment, or dexterity, in the teacher.

So enamoured, however, was I with the beauties of *classic ground*, that no considerations could for some months prevail upon me to step out of this flowery path into the regions of *Science* and *Philosophy*, intricate as they *then* appeared. I endeavoured, but in vain, to prevail upon myself to open *Euclid*, the OLD CARPENTER! as one of our year, like myself, a mathematician by *compulsion*, was wont to call him in derision.

At last, *emulation* effected, what *reason* and *inclination* were unable to accomplish. Upon hearing that several of my contemporaries had already made a considerable proficiency in Geometry, I resolutely sat down to encounter this formidable adversary, with all the assiduity that I could bear, and all the faculties that I could summon.

It is observed at Cambridge, and is generally true, that the hardy progeny of the *North*, from Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the remoter parts of Yorkshire, are usually the profoundest proficients in *Mathematics* and *Philosophy*. *Mrs. Barbauld*, a lady of an excellent genius, which she has condescendingly employed to the noblest ends, in exciting infancy

to virtue, and maturer years to a love of freedom, somewhere sings,

" And souls are ripened in our northern sky."[t]

But I need not recur to this *hypothesis* for a solution of the point in question. A previous foundation for the superstructure of academical pursuits is usually laid in the schools of those *Northern* parts of the country. Independently of that provision, this portion of our youth, generally speaking, have been so rudely educated in *classic* learning, in a style so unattractive and inelegant, as makes them appear, in contrast with their polished brethren from the public seminaries of the *South*, mere "*Caprimulgi*" and "*Fossores.*"

They naturally, therefore, turn their attention to those objects which afford an equal prospect to their ambition; and become sedulous, to a superior degree of industry and perseverance, in their endeavours to counterbalance, by pre-eminent excellence in their own province, deficiencies of education almost

[t] See her poem called "Invitation."

So Pope:

" But ripens spirits in cold northern climes."

Ess. on Crit. 401.

irremediable: as a genuine taste for the beauties of composition is, I think, rarely found, where it was not instilled by an accomplished preceptor at an early period. The reasons of this truth (for such abundant experience has proved it to me) may, I believe, be suggested without much difficulty.

The ideas, communicated in *early years*, leave not only a more *lasting*, but a more *pleasing*, impression on the mind, so as to be tenaciously cherished in after life with all the prejudice of habitual attachment. They receive such accessions of strength, by a slow, indeed, but perpetual reinforcement, as ultimately amount to a considerable sum, at a time when the uninitiated are perfect strangers to these enchantments of sensibility and taste.

The memory too is the first faculty which we exercise to any extent, with profit, and is successfully and delightfully employed in laying up her treasures through this early period; for the flowers of *classic* ground which invite her access are numerous beyond computation, and breathe a fragrance to which no language can do justice.

Besides, at a more advanced stage, the mind becomes capable of *moral*, *political*, and *mathematical* investigation, with success; and revolts with disgust from the indispensable

drudgery of acquiring language, by turning over day and night the dictionary and the Lexicon:

——— " Nil sine magno"
" Vita labore dedit mortalibus." [a]

By toil we purchase ev'ry solid good.

If, however, this slavery be endured from some urgent consideration of expediency, the profit is in no wise proportionate to the exertion. We are now become impatient of acquiring ideas by such a *tardy process;* and but little benefit results from *unwilling* labour. The student toils through his task with reluctance, and therefore with fatigue; according to the exquisite *oxumoron* of the prince of poetry:

Ἔκων ακεκοντι γε θυμῳ.[x]

During the two first years of my residence at college, I pursued my *mathematical* and *philosophical* studies with a stated mixture of *classical* reading, except when a strange fastidiousness, for which I could never account, occasionally took a bewildering possession of my faculties. This impediment commonly re-

[a] Hor. Sat. 1. 9. 59.

[x] Hom. Il. IV. 43. Consenting with reluctant will.

curred in the spring of the year, when I was so enamoured of rambling in the open air, through solitary fields, or by a river's side—of the amusements of cricket and fishing, that no self-expostulations, no prospect of future vexation, nor even emulation itself, could chain me to my books.

Sometimes for a month together, and even for a longer period, though tormented all the while with the reflexion, have I been disabled from reading a single page without extreme restlessness and impatience.

As a counterpoise to this constitutional inconvenience, I made the best use of time when my inclinations were compliant; but seldom to the neglect of plentiful recreation and stated exercise, to which I religiously attended. During a *five years* continuance at college, I rose, almost without exception, by *five o'clock*, winter and summer; but never breakfasted, drank tea, or supt *alone*, half a dozen times during all that space; enjoying society, from the first, beyond measure, as a most delightful and rational relief from study.

Nevertheless, abundance of time and exertion was misapplied by me in this career of laborious ambition, for want of a *private* tutor to direct and superintend my studies.

This advantage was possessed by most of

my contemporaries, and I was not wholly destitute of it for *some months* before my degree, by the friendship of *Mr. Mounsey*, then lately elected fellow of the college, from *Peterhouse*. On his *abilities* his numerous acquaintance will reflect with more pleasure than on his *life;* but his virtues were disinterestedly benevolent, and his vices chiefly prejudicial to himself. "May he find mercy of the Lord in that day!"[7]

As I enjoyed at college the attachment of some firm and amiable friends, the dear companions of those departed hours, which transport even at this distant recollection, so my enemies, if not numerous, were not inactive.

I cannot ascribe these operations of ill-will solely to a jealousy of literary attainments beyond the mediocrity of *their* progress, though this, undoubtedly, was one source of enmity in their breasts; but rather to an appearance (for it was merely an *appearance*, but perhaps not easily distinguishable by an undiscerning or unkind observer) of considerable vanity and self-conceit.

This semblance of these alienating properties was exhibited in a perfect frankness and simplicity of disposition, which has always induced me to speak of things as they *are*, with-

[7] 2 Tim. i. 18.

out dissimulation, and without restraint: to disapprove, where there appeared to me reason for disapprobation;[z] and to estimate my own acquirements with as much impartiality as those of other people.

It always appeared to my mind not only a violation of truth, but an act of *ingratitude* to the "Giver of every good gift" to dissemble, or disparage those qualifications, which I was conscious of possessing: and I esteemed it not folly only, but a fraud (from a silly affectation of modesty on one hand, or an irresolute insipidity on the other,) to bestow on ordinary proficients in learning and virtue, such commendations as were only due to the *genuine* possessors of those valuable acquisitions.

These dispositions uncorrected, or unimpaired, as best pleases the reader's taste, have accompanied me through life: these domineer in my constitution to this very hour, and have been invariably productive of the same antipathies in low-minded individuals, and the same ungenerous misconstruction of my sentiments and conduct; with the alienation of but few

[z] "Sic sum, neque me mutare possum, neque profectò valdè cupio; quanquàm non sum nescius, quanti aliis hic animus steterit: qui quidèm causæ nihil dico, quin arrogantia ab omnibus appelletur."

Thirlbius Præf. in Just. Mart. W.

attachments, whose loss I had reason to regret, on the score either of intellectual or moral worth. [a]

May the brave, the magnanimous, and the disinterested, continue to be my friends! and let my enemies, if I must have enemies, be the coward, the sycophant, and the venal!

In the *third* year of my residence, an inviting object presented itself to my ambition, but it proved the delusive rainbow, which receded as I ran to grasp it. To Mr. Rennell of King's, *at that time* my friend, I exclaimed feelingly in the anguish of disappointment,

> " Dura rudimenta! et nulli exaudita deorum
> Vota, precesque meas!" [b]

Dr. Browne, the physician, had left *three* medals, each of *five guineas* value, to the best *Greek ode* after the manner of *Sappho*, the best *Latin ode* after the manner of *Horace*, and the best pair of *epigrams*, one upon the model of the *Greek Anthologia*, and the other of *Martial*, for *undergraduates*.

[a] " Recluso pectore patebat insidiantibus multis: undè rumorum aucupes subitò extitere complures, ferinis morsibus appetentes." Amm. Marc. W.

[b] Æn. XI. 157.

[c] Ah! the stern gods grow deaf to every prayer!" Pitt.

As this was the last year of my capacity to be a candidate, I exerted myself, and wrote an exercise for every prize. My epigrams and Greek ode were very deservedly banished from the regions of *Parnassus* to the shop of the *Lemnian God*, for that *ordeal* which becomes these illegitimate productions of the Muses.

Ηφαιστε, προμολ' ωδε, Θετις νυ τι σειο χαλιζει. [c]

"Vulcan draw near, 'tis Thetis asks your aid."

POPE.

My *Horatian* attempt [d] deserved a better fate, and was allowed by the friends of both parties a decided superiority over the triumphant composition. But the suspicious reader will naturally be desirous to know the motives to an unjust determination in this case. I will endeavour to satisfy his curiosity by some plausible suggestions upon the point.

Dr. Cooke, then *Provost* of *King's*, was a leading man in all these decisions, which, as in this instance, usually reside in the breasts of three or four judges. He had been formerly master of *Eton-school*, and was, to a certain extent, an exact and elegant classic, though

[c] Homer, Il. xviii. v. 392.

[d] This Ode was afterwards published in Mr. Wakefield's "Poemata," &c. 4to. 1776.

by no means *remarkable*; as I could discover even at that early period.

He had acquired a degree of school-learning sufficient, by a superiority above the generality of his contemporaries, to engender impertinence and conceit, but too little to produce humility, or effectual service to himself or the community. His voice, which might, however, claim great respect, was suffered to domineer, on these occasions, even against the judgment of others.

His son, a scholar of *King's*, was a candidate for the prize assigned to the *Latin ode;* and, from circumstances then occurring, it appeared morally certain that he had seen his son's exercise, contrary to the direction of the founder, and the rectitude of such transactions.

The master of *Magdalen* was either *Vice-chancellor* that year, or acted for him; and the prizes were adjudged, whilst three or four of the umpires were walking up and down the grass-plot in the court of that college, after so brief and perfunctory a conversation, as convinced a friend of mine, who overheard them from the window of his room, with what little discussion this prejudiced case was irrevocably settled.

It is highly criminal to indulge on these

occasions any partiality. To check juvenile ambition by injustice and discouragement is to blast the fruit of excellence in its bud. The laudable emulation of mind in young people is a certain harbinger of future excellence, as the reflexion of the sun's beams on the mountain-top betokens that his rising is at hand.

I was a more regular attendant, I believe, than any of my contemporaries, on the *sermons* at *St. Mary's*; but have no particular reason to congratulate myself this day either upon the abundant pleasure or improvement which I reapt from these lectures. I was present when *Dr. Law*, the late *Bishop of Carlisle*, on a *fifth of November*, preacht that sermon, which is mentioned by my much respected friend *Dr. Disney* in his "Memoirs of Dr. Jebb." [e]

That memorable prelate, then beyond the

[e] "The Bishop of Carlisle preached a noble sermon on Nov. 5, in which he shewed, that the spirit of popery was not peculiar to popish countries; that spiritual tyranny consisted in imposing other articles, as terms of communion, than what Christ had given; that religious liberty was too valuable a right to be complimented away; and that every effort to oppress conscience should be opposed. In short no *petitioner* would have wished him to say more."

Extract from a private letter from Dr Jebb, dated Nov. 10, 1773, in Jebb's Works, I. Mem. 56.

term assigned by *David* for the customary extent of human life, acquitted himself with an elocution, audible, animated, and distinct, beyond the exertions of most *young* men; and displayed, with the utmost clearness and conviction, the *imperfections* of our *first reformers*, and of *their reformation*.

And here a comical incident recurs to memory, respecting that *scraping* of the *Proctor*, *Mr. Wilgress*, whilst preaching, what *Dr. Jebb* justly calls "a most *papistical* sermon."[f] I myself was one of the offending gallery; but whether an offender or not, I will not say, for I do not recollect; though too prone to mischiefs of that nature.

After a few names had been taken down comes the late *Mr. Homer* of *Emanuel*, a gentleman distinguished as the editor of several classic authors, and much more honourably so by a virtuous life, and a conscientious resignation of his *fellowship*, rather than take *Priest's orders*, which his situation in the college required him to do.[g] "What is your

[f] Disney's Jebb, Mem. I. p. 57 and 58.

[g] I have been informed, that the society entertained so great a respect for their worthy member, as to have expressed a willingness to *re-elect* him fellow "*de novo*;" but found this measure inconsistent with their statutes. I am acquainted

name, sir?" said *Purkess*, the other proctor; "*Homer*, of *Emanuel*."—"Sir! you are attempting to impose upon me. *Homer*, do you say?" "Yes, sir; *Homer* of *Emanuel*." "Very well, sir."—After two or three more names comes a gentleman of my year, *Mr. Pindar* of *Queen's*. "Your name, sir?" "*Pindar*, of *Queen's*." "Sir! I will not be insulted in this manner. I insist upon it, sir! that you tell me your name." "My name, sir! is *Pindar* of *Queen's*." "Sir; this usage cannot be borne! It is contumacy indeed." "My name is *Pindar* of *Queen's*; and if you don't like that, I have no other for you." The proctor composed himself, and reluctantly submitted to the name.

I heard *Dr. Ogden* preach most of those discourses, which were afterwards made public. His person, manner, and character of compo-

with such striking instances of liberality in their master, the late *Dr. Farmer*, towards those of whose integrity he was convinced, however opposite their sentiments, as makes this report highly credible to me. Surely the facts were extremely honourable to both parties. We may apply to this occasion the words of Cicero: "Dignus imperator legione Martiâ; digna legio imperatore." These are the dispositions of reciprocal accommodation to the consciences of each other, that fulfil the laws of humanity and the gospel, and constitute the chief blessings of society. W.

sition, were exactly suited to each other. He exhibited a large black, scowling, *grizly* figure, a ponderous body with a lowering visage, embrowned by the horrors of a *sable periwig*. His voice was growling, and morose; and his sentences desultory, tart, and snappish.

His sermons are interspersed with remarks, eminently brilliant and acute, but too epigrammatic in their close. They display that perfect propriety and purity of English diction, that chastized terseness of composition, which have scarcely been equalled by any writer. Like *Cicero* he wants nothing to *complete* his meaning; like *Demosthenes* he can suffer no *deduction* without essential injury to the sentence. He was a good scholar, a liberal-minded Christian, and an honest man.

His uncivilized appearance, and bluntness of demeanour, were the grand obstacles to his elevation in the church. He kept a public act for his *Doctor's degree*, at the installation of the *Chancellor*, the late *Duke of Newcastle*, in 1753, with distinguished applause. The duke was willing to have brought our divine up to court, to prefer him; but found, as he exprest it, that the doctor was not a *producible man*.

Dr. Hallifax, the late *Bishop of St. Asaph*, was a passionate admirer and close imitator of

Dr. Ogden. They were in company during the *French* war of 1756, and the conversation turning upon the politics of the day, mention was made of a recent capture, I think of some town. *Hallifax* enquired, "Who had taken it?" As this question implied the utmost ignorance of the state of the war, and all its circumstances at that time, *Ogden*, shocked at such inattention to public transactions, lifted up his eyes, turned away his face with disdain, and growled, "What an idiot!" Which furnishes no bad specimen of the doctor's plainness of rebuke. [h]

[h] One of his singularities was a fondness for good cheer, with an excessive appetite; and his failing an immoderate indulgence of it. The following anecdote of his epicurism is related by a gentleman, now living, who was with him at St. John's:—The cook having spoiled a dish, the doctor was appointed to fine him; and he imposed three cucumbers, at their firſt appearance, which were paid; and all devoured by the doctor himself.

But let the memory, reader! of this deficiency in a worthy character perish with him, like the body, and the good things which it consumed: nor do thou refuse to join me in the charitable wish of the facetious bard;

"Farewell! may the turf where thy cold reliques rest,
Bear herbs, odoriferous herbs; o'er thy breast
Their heads thyme, and sage, and pot-marjoram wave,
And fat be the gander that feeds on thy grave."

ANSTEY'S "Bath Guide." W.

The common exhibitioners at *St. Mary's* were the *hack* preachers employed in the service of defaulters and absentees. A piteous unedifying tribe!

> " From eloquence and learning far remov'd,
> As from the centre thrice to th' utmost pole."

CHAP. V.

Study of Hebrew—Comparison between mathematical Philosophy and classical learning—The Author takes his Bachelor's Degree—Elected Fellow of Jesus College—Dr. Jebb, and Rev. Mr. Tyrwhitt.

1775—1778.

ALL the time previous to my degree, I was longing, with inexpressible impatience, for such a portion of emancipation from the *academical* studies, in which interest and ambition then engaged me, as would allow me some leisure for *theological* enquiries. This branch of learning,[1] my love of important truth, and native seriousness of disposition, had ever represented to my mind as the essence of literary enjoyment.

During the long vacation of 1775, I relieved the severity of study by a relaxation of *three* weeks at my father's house in *Richmond*. Still,

[1] "That learning, which the former times were not so blessed as to know, sacred and inspired divinity, the sabbath and port of all men's labours and peregrinations."

BACON'S Works, 4to. I. 123, See also 55.

however, wanting employment when I was there, and falling upon *Lyons's Hebrew Grammar*, I set myself with diligence to the acquisition of the *Hebrew* language. For four or five days did I puzzle myself with that intolerable book, not aware of the abominable stupidity—a stupidity which no words can sufficiently stigmatize!—of learning that language with *the points*.

Most fortunately for me my father dined one day with the late *Daniel Wray, Esq.* of Richmond, a well-informed man, who had been educated at Cambridge, and was one of the authors of the admired "Athenian Letters." As this gentleman was an excellent *linguist*, I made known to him my embarrassment respecting the acquisition of the *Hebrew*. He expatiated on the extreme absurdity of attending to the points; lent me *Masclef's Grammar*; and, in the course of *ten days*, I had read in my father's *Polyglott*, by the help only of *Buxtorf's Lexicon*, nine or ten of the first chapters in "Genesis" without much difficulty, and with infinite delight.

From that hour I kept up a constant cultivation of the *Hebrew;* without some knowledge of which tongue, no man, I venture to affirm, can have an adequate perception of the *phraseology* of the New Testament.

In a little work called "*Directions for the Student in Theology,*" I have sufficiently disclosed the facility of that method[k] which I pursued; and shall, therefore, say no more in this place. Notwithstanding its undeniable superiority, many still prefer their old *Mumpsimus* to our new *Sumpsimus*. The chief motive for the recommendation of *points*,[l] in those who understand them, is, I fear, too often, pride.

[k] "Let him, if his circumstances will admit, provide himself with *Masclef's* Grammar and *Castell's* Polyglott Lexicon; if not, *Buxtorf's* Lexicon may be procured, and any other grammar which rejects the *Points*. A competent knowledge of the principles of grammar will presently be attained; and then the student must betake himself to the Lexicon, and perfect himself in the Grammar as he learns the language. By the help of a tolerable capacity, he will master the plain historical parts of the *Old Testament* with some degree of readiness after a moderate share of application in the course of seven or eight weeks."—Direction IV.

[l] "These were devised by *Masoretic Jews* beyond all controversy above a *thousand* years after the *Hebrew* language ceased to be vernacular, and when the true pronunciation of the ancients was probably unknown.—The insuperable difficulty, that has been supposed to attend the rejection of *Points*, is the pronunciation of those words in which there is no vowel. In which indeed there is no difficulty at all: since the student must observe, that we do not learn these dead languages to be able to converse in them, but to understand them; for into the genuine pronunciation the *Points* themselves can give us no insight." Ibid.

——— " Nec quæ
Imberbes didicere, senes perdenda fateri."[m]

" Nor own that it were beſt, provoking truth!
In age to unlearn, the learning of their youth."[n]

They are not fond, in the first place, of acknowledging themselves mistaken; and in the next, they cannot prevail upon themselves to reject as useless, what has cost them so much pains in the acquisition.

" Jamque dies, ni fallor, adest, quem semper acerbum,
Semper honoratum, sic Di voluistis! habebo."[o]

Or in plain *English* prose, it was January 16, 1776,—" the great, the important day," in which the fruit of all my application was to be fame, or disappointment. *Seventy-five* of us took our degrees that year; very few compared to former times; for *Eachard*[p] observed, more than a century ago, that " *Two hundred*, for the most part, yearly *commence*." The best of these seventy-five were but moderate proficients; and those of us in the *highest* posts of honour, greatly inferior to our immediate predecessors, and to those who succeeded us.

For my own part, though I set inestimable value on the general conceptions, which I had

[m] Hor. Ep. II. 1. 85. [n] Francis.

[o] Æn. V. 49. [p] Cont. of Clergy, 12mo. 23.

then acquired, I felt within me no proper relish for these sublimities of knowledge, nor one spark of real *inventive* genius. But happy that man who lays the foundation of his future studies deep in the recesses of *Geometry!* "that purifier of the soul," as *Plato* called it; and in the principles of *mathematical* philosophy: compared with whose noble theories, I make no scruple to declare it, our *classical* lucubrations are as the glimmering of a taper to the meridian splendours of an æquatorial sun.

What subject of human contemplation shall compare in grandeur with that which demonstrates the *trajectories*, the *periods*, the *distances*, the *dimensions*, the *velocities*, and *gravitation* of the planetary system; states the *tides*; adjusts the *nutation* of the earth, and contemplates the invisible *comet*, wandering in his *parabolic* orb for successive *centuries*, in but a corner of boundless space?—which considers that the diameter of the earth's orbit, of *one hundred and ninety millions* of miles in length, is but an *evanescent point* at the nearest *fixed star* to our system;—that the *first* beam of the sun's light, whose rapidity is inconceivable, may be *still* traversing the bosom of boundless space? Language sinks beneath contemplations so exalted, and so well calculated to inspire the most awful sentiments of the GREAT ARTIFICER;

of that WISDOM which could contrive this stupendous fabric; that PROVIDENCE which can support it; and that POWER whose hand could launch into their orbits, bodies of a magnitude so prodigious!

——————— "But I lose
Myself in HIM, in LIGHT INEFFABLE:
Come then, expressive Silence, muse his praise!"[q]

Moderate, however, as my attainments were, I had the honour of nomination to the *second* post: though the *Emanuel* men, who, that year, furnished the *Vice-chancellor* and the *Proctor*, to make the distance more conspicu-

[q] Thomson's "Hymn."

"Præterea dicebat ——— admirationem, quæ maxima est, non parere verba, sed silentium: idcirco, inquit, poetarum sapientissimus, auditores illos Ulyxi labores suas illustrissime narrantis, ubi loquendi finis factus, non exsultare, nec strepere, nec vociferari facit, sed consiluisse universos dicit, quasi attonitos, et obstupidos delenimentis aurium, ad origines usque vocis permanantibus." Aul. Gell. Lib. V. cap. i. W.

"He further observed, that the extremest admiration did not produce words, but silence. For this reason, he continued, the wisest of poets makes those who heard Ulysses relate, in a most delightful manner, his travels, when he had finished speaking, not leap up with vociferous clamour, but he represents them as being universally silent, as if astonished and confounded with the soothing gratification of their ears, extending even to their power of utterance." BELOE.

ous, by an unhandsome artifice, interposed the four *gratuitous Honorati*[r] between their hero

[r] After the examination for bachelors' degrees, a list is made out of those who have been most distinguished in that examination, and this list is printed on two papers, called *Tripos*, which are distributed about the university on two appointed days. On the first of these days, the list distributed contains the names of those who have most distinguished themselves, and who are divided into two classes; the first class being called *Wranglers*; the second class *Senior Optimes*. On the second day, the list distributed contains the third class in the order of honours, and they who are in this list are called *Junior Optimes*. These persons acquire their rank on either of the lists of honours entirely from their merit, after undergoing a severe examination; but they who are in the *second* list have not the privilege of being candidates for the *classical medal*. From ancient custom the Vice-chancellor, and the two Proctors, had the privilege of naming *four* persons, who were supposed to have some degree of merit to distinguish them from those who could not obtain a place in the list of honours: and these four persons were termed *Proctor's Senior Optimes*, and had the privilege of being candidates for the classical medal. Their names were inserted in the *first tripos*, and, generally, at the end of the list of *Senior Optimes*. The deviation from the general rule in Mr. Wakefield's case, by placing the four *honorati* immediately after the *Senior Wrangler*, did not arise from any intentional disrespect to Mr. Wakefield, but was owing to a very curious circumstance, of which he does not appear to have been aware, and in which the honour of a single person, not that of the college at large, was consulted. The person alluded to has, from that moment, been uniformly rising to the highest honours in the church, and his career in life forms a striking

and myself; contrary to the practice of some preceding years, and, I believe, to the practice ever since.

Whoever might suggest this expedient, I mean not the least reflexion on the *Vice-chancellor*, *Dr. Farmer*, who was forward, on various occasions, to praise and to befriend me: and the *Proctor* was *Dr. Bennet*, the present *Bishop of Cloyne*, who has testified his regard for me with uniform benevolence.

The reader, not acquainted with our *University*, must be informed, that the *Duke of Newcastle*, at the commencement of his *Chan-*

contrast with that of the subject of these memoirs, and indeed is a strong proof of the superiority of patronage over merit and application. It was not unnatural for Mr. Wakefield to attribute the artifice to Emanuel college, which, though the first of the smaller colleges, can only boast of one *Senior* Wrangler; and its deficiency in the attainment of honours is very remarkable. From the table of honours obtained by the several colleges, and published in 1801, it appears that, in a period of fifty years, Emanuel college has obtained only eight honours, whilst Pembroke, a college far inferior to it in numbers, has, in that space of time, gained forty-seven honours; a number very nearly double of the honours obtained during that period, by Catherine Hall, Clare Hall, Emanuel, and Trinity Hall.

With respect, however, to Emanuel College, it ought to be noticed that, at the public examination for bachelors' degrees in January, 1802, since the publication of the abovementioned table of honours, three additional honours were obtained by members of that society.

cellorship, about *fifty* years ago, attempted to check rather than to discourage the propensity to *mathematical* and *philosophical* pursuits, by giving *two classical* medals yearly to the best proficients in the ancient languages; but with this condition, that no *Bachelor* of *Arts* should be qualified to become a candidate, who had not attained a certain eminence in the predominant occupations of the place: thus judiciously exciting our youth to a due mixture of these different departments of useful literature.

It so happened, from the modesty, rather than the insufficiency of our contemporaries, as the subsequent transactions manifestly shewed, that all of those (*twenty-eight* in number) entitled by their degrees to contest these prizes of the chancellor, retired from the field, excepting Mr. (now Dr.) Forster, master of the *Free-school* at *Norwich*, and myself. I make no scruple to allow that he was, probably, a better scholar than his competitor; and accordingly our examiners with justice presented this gentleman with the *first* medal, and I came in for the *second*, of course.[1] But then it must

[1] The gold medal, given by the Chancellor, is a very fine piece. It is two inches and one-eighth in diameter, and nearly one-eighth of an inch in thickness. Mine weighs down eleven guineas and a half. On one side is a bold embossed figure of

be mentioned in my favour, that he was much older than me, *three years* at the least, having been *superannuated* at *Eton;* and had consequently enjoyed many more advantages of education, and for a greater length of time.

But I dwell on this topic more particularly with a view of shewing the great unfairness which private attachment, or zeal for a particular college, is apt to introduce into these *academical* determinations, to the sacrifice of equity, the discouragement of learning, and the depression of enterprising genius. Forster was, undoubtedly, ranked much too high in the scale of honour for degrees: his contemporaries of his own college acknowledged it with a knowing smile, significant of the object: and, in all probability, he did not deserve a station that qualified him to be a *Candidate* for the medal, but was thrust up, for that sole purpose, injuriously to others, and

our most gracious and religious king—as our church dutifully calls any monarch who happens to sit on the throne—with this inscription round it: GEORGIUS III. PIUS FELIX PATER PATRIÆ. On the reverse, a figure in a *Bachelor's* gown, on whose head *Apollo* is placing a laurel-wreath, at the direction of *Fame*, an infant figure, hovering in the air, with his trumpet, and a label from it, with this inscription: *Detur dignissimo.* At the bottom, AUSP. AUG. HEN. DUC. DE GRAFTON ACAD. CANTAB. CANCELL. On the edge is written, Gilbert Wakefield, Jesus Coll. MDCCLXXVI. W.

discreditably to himself and patrons. To prevent even the suspicion of such abuse, it would be more equitable to have one medal for the *Wranglers*, and another for *senior Optimes*.

At that time too the *Johnians* (of whose college Forster was a member), when the loss of their zealous master, Dr. Powell, was but recent, had not yet relaxed their claims and eagerness for universal preference, not unsuccessfully asserted for some years previous to our own.

I well remember a merry passage, touching my antagonist, during the examination for our degree. The three first classes went to the *moderator's* rooms at *Clare Hall*, in the evening, to solve *problems*. Here this gentleman acquitted himself in no sense of the word *problematically;* but ingenuously confesst, like an honest man, that he knew nothing at all of the matter. However, with good humour, and a kind attention to the convenience of his associates, he condescended to assume in our favour the office of the *whetstone:*

——— "Fungar vice cotis, acutum
Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secandi."[1]

[1] Hor. Art. Poet. 304.

"Thus let me sharpen others, as the hone
Gives edge to razors, though itself has none." FRANCIS.

And occasionally threw *light* upon the mysterious subjects, which too closely engaged the attention of the rest to allow even a moment for such interruption, by—*Snuffing the Candles.*

There are also at *Cambridge* two other prizes for the best proficients in *mathematics* and *philosophy*, among the *new Bachelors of Arts*. They were left by *Dr. Smith*, the celebrated master of *Trinity College*, well known to the scientific world for his treatises on *Optics* and *Harmonics*.

These prizes usually fall to the lot of those *two wranglers* who have been adjudged, in the previous examination for degrees, to the most honourable stations of the year. But it so fell out, that one of the best men in our year was prevented by indisposition from passing the former trial, and another was deemed by his college to have been injuriously superseded by myself, and the rest who were preferred to him. I was awkwardly affected by this incident: the gentleman thus supposed to be misplaced was one of my most intimate friends. No alteration, however, took place in our attachment or intercourse, which continued till I left college, with uninterrupted good-will, without any mention of this untoward circumstance.

My *friend* Pretyman (at *that time* I mean), now *Bishop of Lincoln*, *Dean of St. Paul's*, &c. who had exerted himself with great earnestness in my favour, was very urgent with me to appear among the competitors for these prizes in question. But I represented to him, that one of the three had already been pronounced my superior, and that I had readily acquiesced in the decision; that the other two were my particular friends; and though a presumptive judgment only could be formed of their merits, I verily believed one of them to be clearly beyond myself, and the other not much, if at all, inferior.

The truth is, I was but a humble proficient in the *higher* parts of *Algebra* and *Fluxions*; for the former of which branches I never had much relish. I also thought myself exceedingly fortunate in faring so well thus far, and was strongly apprehensive that my *laurels*, so green and flourishing, might be scorched in the heat of this new rencounter where, in any event, I might lose honour, but could scarcely expect to gain it. In short, I was very glad by any argument to extricate myself from this perilous dilemma, and to rest from my contentions.

On the 16th of April, 1776, as soon after

my *degree* as the *statutes* of our college, and the previous preparations would allow, I was elected *fellow*, on the nomination of the master and fellows, by the late *Dr. Edmond Keene, Bishop of Ely*, at his house in London.

This fellowship had been vacated by the marriage of my tutor, Mr. Milner, and was the same for which my father had been *nominated* with that gentleman *thirty years before*. The *society*, from an honourable opinion of my diligence in study, and my exact attention to the laws and discipline of the college, during the entire period of my novitiate, had kindly entreated the *visitor* to keep the fellowship vacant for me beyond the customary time. This indulgence gave my father a degree of satisfaction much beyond the importance of the object; of which, however, he did not live to see me reap the advantage.

Indeed, with respect to regularity, my attendance at *Chapel*, the main point with us, was so uniformly punctual, that I sometimes took the liberty of missing in an evening, a step which would have inevitably brought a *jobation* upon any other *Undergraduate*. But I was persuaded that our master would conclude, from my general exactness, that some reasonable cause of absence had intervened, and would

therefore suspend his reproof; which I never incurred, in a single instance, for this bold innovation.

Dr. JOHN JEBB, that true son of liberty, civil and religious! the conscientious patriot! the zealous and intrepid promoter of the best interests of mankind! I had fixed upon for my *mathematical* tutor in the beginning of the year 1775: and, through the interference of our common friend *Mr. Tyrwhitt*, then fellow of our college, he listened to my solicitation. But I did not attend him longer than a week; his avocations, and a disinclination on his part to lecture in the higher departments of mathematics and philosophy, dissolved this connexion.

I will take this opportunity on the mention of *Dr. Jebb* and *Mr. Tyrwhitt* to correct a mistake, which I know has been prevalent among my acquaintance; that I was seduced from the paths of *Orthodoxy* by the voice of these *charmers*. They are supposed, like the *Pharisees* of our *Saviour's* time, to have "compassed sea and land to make one *proselyte*;" or, to adopt a comparison that will better harmonize with the ideas of these censorious surmizers, to have "gone about, like roaring lions, seeking whom they might devour."[u]

[u] 1 Peter, c. 5. v. 8.

It is not improbable (but of this I have no particular recollection) that the *example* of such respectable characters, occupied in the search and the profession of religious truth, might apply spurs to the *willing courser*.

In connexion with the publications then current, their example certainly excited among the *Undergraduates* a variety of conversation and debate upon the controverted points in *theology:* but their influence over my mind went no further. I soon found the truth to lie upon the surface; and was persuaded that a *single eye* of any acuteness, purged from those films of habitual acquiescence, which are superinduced by the operations of *timidity*, or the suggestions of *prudence*, could never be a very long time in making the discovery. My constitutional frankness and intrepidity would then instantly impel me to the *practical profession* of it.[x]

I continued the prosecution of my *classical* and *theological* studies through the years 1776 and 1777, with unabated vigour. I meddled neither with *controversialists* nor *commentators*. Sometimes I read the *New Testament* in the

[x] " Haud cuivis promptum est murmurque humilesque susurros
Tollere de templis, et aperto vivere voto."
PERSIUS, Sat. 2. v. 6.

order of the books, and sometimes with a *harmony:* but my chief exertions were employed in endeavouring to attain a complete mastery of the *phraseology* of *both Scriptures,* by a close attention to the *idiom* of the languages in which they are written. I recollect nothing worthy of remembrance concerning my *theological* opinions during this period.

In the year 1776, urged on by my own inclination, and the partial approbation of some friends, I publisht, at the *University* press, a small collection of *Latin* poems, partly original, and partly translations, with a few notes on *Horace* by way of appendix. One or two of the criticisms will stand the test of time; but the generality of them are trivial or unsolid.

The poems (in which I have since discovered *one false quantity*) have been acknowledged by the most capable judges not inelegant, nor destitute of merit. The indiscretion of the bookseller, and the ardour of my friends, occasioned my inexperience to put a price on this little volume, which was mere extortion. I was afterwards most heartily ashamed of this, and reduced it accordingly more than one half.

At the conclusion, I think, of the same

year, my most respected friend *Mr. Tyrwhitt* resigned his *fellowship*, from a dissatisfaction with the doctrines contained in the *Articles* and the *Common Prayer* of the *Church of England:* and it was generally understood that *Mr. Braithwaite*, another of our *Senior Fellows*, refused all college livings upon the same conscientious scruples. *Mr. Tylden* also, my contemporary in college, a most amiable person, and an excellent scholar, suffered a family-living to devolve on his brother, in preference to an acceptance of *Anti-Christian* confessions of faith, as the condition of the tenure.

The *members* in *Parliament* for the *University*, after the example of the *Chancellor*, give yearly *four* prizes, of *fifteen pounds* value each, to the best exercises in *Latin prose*, on a subject proposed by the Vice-chancellor; *two* for the *middle*, and *two* for the *senior Bachelors* of Arts.

The subject in 1777, when I was *middle* Bachelor, was this: "Utrum ars critica ad benè scribendum plus utilitatis, an incommodi afferat."

My friend *Gretton*, of *Trinity*, obtained, and I think very deservedly, the *first* prize. I preferred the negative side of the question, and came in for the *second*.

I have mentioned before,[y] that the injudicious method which *Mr. Wooddeson* pursued with his scholars, in the composition of our exercises, prevented me ever after from writing *Latin* with due facility and elegance;[z] and the consciousness of this insufficiency has made me always exceedingly averse to composition in that language.

The habit might readily have been gained by close and particular application to this object; but my attention was engaged by more pleasing and important pursuits.

Quintilian was always a favourite author with me; and at this day, I think him, upon the whole, the most candid, sensible and rational writer, upon *philological* subjects of all antiquity. In consequence of this attachment, my style savoured more of the expressive energy of this *Rhetorician*, than the magnificent volubility of *Cicero*.

[y] See p. 49, supra.

[z] Reviewers, and others, have occasionally complimented me upon my *elegant Latinity:* but I know myself too well to appropriate these commendations; and if ever there be a semblance of dexterity, it is the case of *Horace:*

"Ludentis speciem dabit, et torquebitur."

Hor. Ep. II. 2. 124. W.

In the disposal of the prizes, given by the *members* for the *University*, there is in general no room for suspecting any partiality. The exercise of each candidate is transcribed by some friend, and a *Latin* verse is written on the back. To enable the judges to refer each exercise to it's author, the same verse is also written on the outside of a letter, sealed up, and inclosing the name of the candidate. The letters on which the verses of the best exercises are inscribed, the judges open: the rest, with the exercises, are destroyed.

To place under one point of view these *academical* transactions, I shall anticipate the *Bachelors'* exercises of the following year; when the subject was "*The learning of the Egyptians,*" suggested, I believe, to the Vice-chancellor by a curious posthumous essay from the celebrated *Dr. Woodward,* published about that time in the "*Archæologia of the Society of Antiquaries.*" The subject was set but a few weeks before I left college; and my exercise, scarcely begun there, was finished at inns, and twenty other places, through which I happened to pass, between that time and the day fixed for the decision. I trusted it, at last, for conveyance, to the hands of a cross-country *waggoner,* and received the first tidings of success from the article in a *London Newspaper.*

Mr. Gretton and I maintained our stations in the same order as before. Thus was my ambition regularly mortified by an inferior allotment on every occasion!—*second* wrangler, *second* medallist, and, *both years*, *second* in the Bachelors' prize.

CHAP. VI.

Mr. Wakefield's Ordination — Remarks on Subscription — Hyson Club.

1778.

On the *twenty-second* day of March, 1778, at the age of twenty-two years and one month, I was ordained a *Deacon*, in the chapel of Trinity College, by *Dr. Hinchliffe, Bishop* of *Peterborough*, on letters dèmissory from *Dr. Keene, Bishop of Ely.*

Mr. Backhouse, Fellow of *Trinity*, the examining chaplain, did not detain me many minutes. He only set me to construe *three* or *four* of the first verses of the first chapter of the "Epistle to the *Hebrews.*" He askt me afterwards, how it appeared that the *Holy Spirit* was *God?* I told him that the texts in Acts v. ver. 3 and 4, were usually alledged as the most apposite to that point. He nodded approbation; and I smiled at his credulity.

"O! sæc'lum insipiens, et inficetum!"[a]

[a] Catull. XLI. 8.

Even then, I was so little satisfied with the requisition of *subscription*, and the subjects of that subscription themselves, that I have since regarded this as the most *disingenuous* action of my whole life; utterly incapable of palliation or apology; and I hold it out, accordingly, to the severest reprobation of every honest reader.

I reconciled myself to a temporary acquiescence by the help of that stale, shameless sophistry, usually employed on these occasions: that so *young* [b] *a man* could not be ex-

[b] "The very sophistry of the Jews. The *Jews* were offended at *Christ* because he was not received and followed by those of the most learning and authority amongst them. *Have any of the Rulers, or of the Pharisees, believed on him?* John vii. 48. We may then suppose that a Jew, who rejected the *Gospel*, would have argued thus: It becomes a private man not to lean too much to his own understanding, but to suppose that they who have studied the laws of *God* more than himself, and are appointed of *God* to be his instructors, are better judges in religious controversies than he can possibly be. Our spiritual guides are all of opinion that *Jesus* is *not* the *Messias*. It is therefore the most modest, rational, and safe way for me, who have not their leisure, learning, and abilities, to submit and trust to their decisions."

JORTIN's Truth of Christ. Rel. p. 8. ed. 4. W.

See likewise some most valuable remarks on the same subject by the *ever-memorable John Hales*, in his sermon "On Enquiry and private Judgment in Religion."

Works, 12mo. vol. 3. p. 153, &c.

pected to form a competent judgment on these points at present; that the supposition, under which subscription was imposed, conceded a liberty to examine *afterwards* more maturely; that some of the wisest and best of men[c] had continued conscientious members of the *Church of England* through life, after an examination of controverted points; and other pretences of interested reasoners, which my ingenuity, not often exercised in these palliating hypocrisies, cannot now suggest, even with the help of memory.

But how truly lamentable to think of the wickedness[d] of requiring an unfeigned *assent* and

[c] See Aul. Gell. lib. 10. cap. 19. W.

[d] Similar convictions deterred *Milton* from entering the Church, *as constituted in his time,* "to whose service," says he, "by the intentions of my parents and friends I was destined of a child, and in mine own resolutions, till coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the *Church*, that he who would take *Orders* must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which, unless he took with a conscience that would retch, he must either strait perjure, or split his faith; I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought, and begun with *servitude* and *forswearing*."

MILTON Apol. Smectym. b. ii. Introd. ad fin. Works, fol. Amst. I. 224.

W.

consent to such a miscellany of *unintelligible*[e] propositions! To think of thus enslaving our ingenuous minds by the force of interest and the sanctity of an oath, to a prejudiced adoption of an established system of religion![f]

[e] "Not that he" (*Mr. Emlyn*) "opposed these things as being above his comprehension, but because they were the unintelligible inventions of men, and not taught in the *holy Scriptures*; and as it is necessary to use our reason and understanding in judging of the credentials of *revelation*, it must be no less so to use it in judging of the *sense* and *meaning* of that *revelation*. If men will represent mysterious nonsense as articles of the Christian faith, which have no foundation there, but are gross *Anti-Christian* corruptions, no wonder *Deists* should make sport with them, and use them for matter of reproach against Christianity."

EMLYN's Works, 4th edit. Mem. p. 54 and 55. W.

[f] "Men will compel others, not to think with them, for that is impossible, but *to say they do*, upon which they obtain full leave not to think, or reason at all; and this is called UNITY." JORTIN, Eccl. Hist. Pref. 18.

"Though some purposes of order and tranquillity may be answered by the establishment of creeds and confessions, yet they are at all times attended with serious inconveniences. They check enquiry; they violate liberty; they ensnare the consciences of the clergy by holding out temptations to prevarication." PALEY, Moral Phil. II. 320.

"If every *Clergyman* who disapproves and disbelieves such doctrines as that of a *Trinity* in *Unity*, *three* Gods in

To think of thus teaching the uncorrupted youth to stifle those emotions which the convictions of truth have excited in his bosom, to disregard his own dignity of character,[g] and to trample under foot the most solemn obligations of morality and religion!

one, had the resolution to avow his sentiments, and relinquish his station in the *Church*, the *Establishment* would find herself deprived of more learned and respectable members, than she would previously have imagined, or could well spare. But God has not given to every man, any more than to *Erasmus*, the spirit of *Martyrdom*; and may he "*who knows that we are but dust*," make every allowance for the infirmities of his creatures in *that day!*"

WAKEFIELD's Address to the Inhabitants of Nottingham, &c. 1789. p. 26.

"Hoc autem liberiores et solutiores sumus, quod integra nobis est judicandi potestas; nec, ut omnia, quæ præscripta, et quasi imperata sint, defendamus, necessitate ullâ cogimur. Nam cæteri primum ante tenentur adstricti, quam, quid esset optimum, judicare potuerunt; deinde, infirmissimo tempore ætatis, aut obsecuti amico cuidam, aut unâ alicujus, quem primum audierunt, oratione capti, de rebus incognitis judicant, et ad quamcunque sunt disciplinam quasi tempestate delati, ad eam, tanquam ad saxum, adhærescunt."

CIC. Acad. II. 3.

g ——— παντων δε μαλιστ' αισχυνεο σαυτον.

Pythag. Golden Verses.

"Above all things reverence thyself." W.

How truly divine in sentiment and poetry are those verses of the *Satyrist:*

" Ambiguæ si quando citabere testis
Incertæque rei, Phalaris licet imperet ut sis
Falsus, et admoto dictet perjuria tauro,
Summum crede nefas animam præferre pudori,
Et, propter vitam, vivendi perdere causas." [h]

" A witness call'd, be strictly true and full:
Tho' Phalaris were present with his bull,
And, threat'ning vengeance with tremendous eye,
Should dictate to your lips the perjur'd lie;
Yet think it a flagitious deed to choose,
For life's poor sake, your innocence to lose:
To lose the ends, for which to life you came,
Merely to save a perishable frame." [i]

For grave, learned, and religious *Seniors* to exact from *young* men a *subscription*, and thus preclude all future investigation, by the strong

[h] Juven. Sat. VIII. 80.

[i] Owen.

Ὥσπερ γαρ οικιας, οιμαι, και πλοιω, και των αλλων των τοιουτων τα κατωθεν ισχυροτατα ειναι δει· ουτω και των πραξεων τας αρχας και τας ὑποθεσεις αληθεις και δικαιας ειναι προσηκει.

DEMOSTHENES, Olynth. II. p. 13. ed. Lut. 1570.

For as in the construction of houses, ships, and all such things, the foundations ought to be strongest; so also the principles and grounds of human actions should be firmly laid in TRUTH and JUSTICE. W.

barriers of interest, is an outrage to human reason, and an insult to the authority of *Christ*. These men are not, as the humility of *Paul* styled himself, the "*slaves* of Jesus Christ," but rather the "*Lords* over God's heritage." [k]

Conviction, and uniformity of belief, are not to be effected by dogmatical and established interpretation of the *Scriptures*; nor is any room left for the exercise of the understanding, for the efforts of reason and study, when refusal brings with it rejection, disgrace, and poverty. [l]

What a melancholy dreadful reflection, that our *ecclesiastical* governors (many [m] of

[k] 1 Peter v. 3.

[l] "The liberal protestantism of the Church of England requires that its Clergy shall first subscribe,—then inquire,—and afterwards dissent at their peril."

DISNEY's Mem. of Jortin, 217, Note.

[m] The confession of *Bishop Smalridge*, as recorded by the truly honest *Whiston*, is striking, and shews at least that the bishop entertained pretty strong doubts concerning the validity of some of those important points to which all clergymen of the *Church of England* are compelled to swear and subscribe their *unfeigned assent* and *consent*, previously to being admitted into *Orders*.

"Some time after the publication of the then *Bishop* of *Bangor's* (*Hoadley's*) famous Sermon, and about the time of the publication of my 'Scripture Politics,' I waited upon *Bishop Smalridge*, and among other things desired that his

them at least) should be well convinced of these enormous evils, and yet refuse "to put forth even a finger" for the removal of them! that they should be active for reformation in *early life*,[n] and lulled to indolence by the opi-

lordship, of whom both parties had so good an opinion, would do something to bring us out of that disorder in which we then were, and particularly that 'he would please to write a little book, to recommend a fair and impartial review of Christian Antiquity to the World, in order to the correction of such errors and practices as might have crept into the Church since the first settlement of Christianity: which recommendation from him would, I believed, have a very good effect.' His lordship's answer, as near as I can remember the words, and that with great emotion of mind and body, was this:—'Mr. *Whiston, I dare not examine; I dare not examine.* For if we should examine, and find that you are in the right, the Church has then been in an error so many hundred years.' I asked him 'how he could say so, and still be a protestant.' He replied, 'Yes, he could.' This I testify under my hand. Will. Whiston."

Histor. Mem. of Dr. Samuel Clarke,
Appendix, p. 176.

[n] This appears to have been the case with *Dr. Porteus, Bishop* of *London, Dr. Yorke, Bishop* of *Ely, Dr. Percy, Bishop* of *Dromore* in *Ireland,* and other dignified clergymen, now living, who, in the year 1772, were joined in an association with a numerous body of the Clergy, "to request a revisal of the Articles, and Liturgy, and Forms of Subscription."

See "LINDSEY's Vindiciæ Priestleianæ," p. 51 and 52.

ate of *preferment!*[o] That alarming denunciation of the scriptures deserves the most serious consideration of these people: "Whoso shall offend," says the great "Bishop of our souls;" "whoso shall offend one of these little ones, which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea."[p]

But remonstrances of this kind have been made so repeatedly, without effect, to those who need no conviction on the subject, that we must be contented to wait patiently the appointed time of the *Supreme Governor of Events*, who "worketh all things after the counsel of his own will," and prepareth the establishment of his kingdom "without observation;" and

[o] *Whiston* thus complains of his contemporaries in the year 1730. "Nor has the present *Lord Chancellor* (*King*, nephew of the great *Locke*,) nor *Bishop Hoadley*, nor *Bishop Hare*, nor any other of the great *advocates* for *Liberty* about the *Court*, or in *Parliament*, made the least motion all this while, that I know of, for this true *Christian Liberty*; I mean the easing the consciences of those honest clergymen who groan under the burden of the present impositions in *Athanasian Creeds*, *Athanasian forms of prayer* and *doxology*, and *Athanasian* and *Calvinist articles of faith*."

Hist. Mem. of Dr. Clarke, p. 118. ed. 1730.

[p] Matt. xviii. 6.

in the mean while we must resign these *tardy, involuntary*, executioners of those grand purposes of the *divine* administration—the VIRTUE, LIBERTY, and HAPPINESS of mankind—to "the Judge of all the Earth," who in "his wrath thinketh upon mercy." May mercy in that day be extended, in full measure, to all who are defiled by this GREAT OFFENCE!

. . . . . .

And I blush for him, I blush for this degradation of my species, when I see a man like *Dr. Paley*, of great worth and talents, and whose sentiments, from their general diffusion, must be so important to society,—when I see that author stain the pages of his incomparable book[q] with such a shuffling chapter on *subscription to articles of religion.*

He has amply gratified the most sanguine expectations raised in his friends, by the extraordinary powers of his penetrating and com-

[q] Paley's "Moral Philosophy," notwithstanding some weak and some erroneous principles, may be recommended as an excellent summary of useful, practicable, edifying morality, delivered in a style perspicuous, and most explicit: vigorous without stiffness, and copious without redundancy. This treatise is particularly admirable for an undissembled statement of difficulties and objections. W.

prehensive understanding, and the glory of his *academical career.*[r]

But has he, in this instance, acted up to the general simplicity and honesty of his character?

The question is not, he knows very well, without any information from me, what a *legislature* little versed in the genuine principles of christian liberty might expect from the subject, but for what the subject *in reality engages:*[s] Whether the words and conduct of the subscriber in all plain construction of language, and conformably to every interpretation of human actions, do not imply an acceptance

[r] ——— ἑκατὶ στεφανων
Θαγὶος ἐν ἀλιξὶ. PIND. Pyth. x. 89, 90.
W.

[s] "What will become of all oaths, promises, and securities among men, if the plain real truth and meaning of words be no longer the measure of what we are to profess, assert, or practise; but every one may, if he do but openly declare it, put his own strained interpretation, as he pleases, upon them? Especially if this be to be allowed in the most sacred matters of all, the signing articles of faith, the making solemn confessions of the same, and the offering up public prayers, praises, and doxologies to the GREAT GOD, in the solemn assemblies of his worship? This I own *I* dare not do, at the peril of my salvation."

WHISTON's Hist. Mem. of Dr. Samuel Clarke, p. 52.

of the contents of those *articles* for *religious truths?* Whether the *sixth* article, which maintains [t] "the sufficiency of scripture to salvation," does not only make the rest of this strange *farrago* mere impertinence and inconsistency; but prove also the compilers of them to have assumed the character of *Fathers, Masters*, and *Teachers* in the *Christian Church*, in direct defiance of the express prohibition of JESUS CHRIST himself? But I sicken at the subject, and feel a degree of sorrow not to be expressed, for such unworthy concealment, such palpable prevarication, as the advocates of *ecclesiastical* slavery are perpetually practising, to the scandal of all morality, and the infinite dishonour of the *Gospel*. "There is more goes to persuasion" (says the excellent JOSEPH MEDE) "than reasons or demonstrations, and that is not in my power." [u] May we ever remember, with a suitable solemnity of feelings, and a determination of obedience, that awful exhortation of the great *Apostle:*

[t] See the paradox of "The Church of England-man" in Jebb's Works, by Disney, iii. 257.

[u] Mede's Answer to Mr. Hayn's Fourth Letter. Works, fol. 3d edit. b. iv. p. 757.

"Let every one that nameth the name of Christ *depart from iniquity.*" [x]

Soon after my degree, I had been admitted into a society called the *Hyson Club*, established some years before. It usually consisted of some of the most respectable members of the *University*; and I reflect with much satisfaction, to this day, upon the profitable and pleasing conversations of this society.

We consisted at that time of *Dr. Beadon*, then *Mr. Beadon*, *fellow* of *St. John's*, and *public Orator*; which office I have heard him discharge with an excellent elocution, and a *latinity*, easy, elegant, and copious. Afterwards he was preferred to the mastership of our college; and is now *Bishop* of *Glocester*. [y]

Dr. Waring, [z] *Professor of Mathematics*; most eminently distinguished, beyond his contemporaries, in the abstruser speculations of that department, and displaying on other topics an admirable portion of good sense and know-

[x] 2 Tim. ii. 19.

[y] Since translated to *Bath and Wells*.

[z] Dr. Waring died in the year 1798.

ledge; recommended by a characteristic simplicity, and unassuming gentleness of manners.

Dr. Pearce, then *Mr. Pearce, fellow* of *St. John's*, and tutor, now master of our college, and dean of Ely; a man of considerable learning; and whom I once esteemed for what I judged to be unaffected affability: but as I understood his behaviour in *Mr. Frend's* persecution to be very reprehensible, I thought the doctor unworthy of my further notice. A man must possess something more than titles and preferments to deserve my respect. [a]

Dr. Pretyman, whom I have mentioned before, as exerting himself with all the ardour of friendship in my behalf at the time of my degree, was also one of our number; then *Mr. Pretyman, fellow*, and *tutor*, of *Pembroke Hall*; now *Bishop* of *Lincoln* and *Dean* of *St. Paul's*.

I know that many persons, since this gentleman has acted so conspicuous a figure on the public theatre of life, from a jealousy, I fear, of his influence with the *late minister*, and his exalted station, have affected to represent him as a mean sycophant, and a man of contemptible abilities. But indeed, reader!

[a] The illiberal conduct of this gentleman on the occasion of Mr. Wakefield's trial, may be seen in the second volume of this work.

——— " Hic nigræ succus loliginis, hæc est
Ærugo mera: quod vitium procul abfore chartis,
Atque animo prius, ut si quid promittere de me
Possum aliud verè, promitto." [b]

As to the charge of servility and dependence, I can only speak *presumptively* upon those points; but I entertain not the least doubt in my own mind, that no occasion would require such debasement in his intercourse with *Mr. Pitt.* I am satisfied that the pupil ever entertained a genuine respect, a deference, an affection, for his tutor; and esteems it, I dare say, one of the happiest events of his life, to have been enabled to provide so amply for one so highly valued.

I commend the late *minister's* forwardness in this matter, where others have so loudly censured him, in letting no opportunity of such essential gratification to his feelings pass unimproved, by a discharge of duty in this pleasing instance, in defiance of the obloquy vented against him, for this conduct, by envious churchmen.

[b] Hor. Sat. I. 4. 100.

" This, this is slanderous abuse,
Rank as fell poison's blackest juice.
If for myself I dare engage,
Such venom ne'er shall taint my page."

BOSCAWEN.

The reader will see, before the conclusion of this work, that the testimony now given is extorted from me by the power of truth, rather than by the constraints of gratitude to *my former friend*, or the force of admiration and the seduction of esteem for the *son of Chatham*.

As for the *abilities* of the bishop, his contemporaries at college can testify to that point, upon the unexceptionable authority of experience: and I have been acquainted with no man of a greater vivacity of conversation, or a more pleasant and affable demeanour than my *Lord* of *Lincoln*, in the days of our intercourse.

If wealth and distinction have made their too customary depredations on *his* heart, as on *thousands* of his *predecessors*; if *Mr. Pretyman* and the *Bishop* of *Lincoln* are become persons totally different from each other; if the glow of friendship has been extinguished by the frost of selfishness; conscious of the frailties of poor human nature, and well aware that integrity with difficulty preserves its firmness beneath the warm influences of wealth and station, I will be the first to drop a tear on the funeral of his virtues, and, to the utmost of my abilities, *embalm the dead*.

" With care direct your steps, nor turn astray,
To tread the paths of this deceitful way:
Too late of fell Ambition's power complain,
And fall where many mightier have been slain."

The general corruption attendant on pre-eminence and distinction is demonstration to me, that the happiness and virtue of humanity will be much advanced, when those stations, raised so high above the common level, and which make those placed on them so giddy, shall be less the objects of eager ambition.

Another of our society was *Dr. Milner*, then *Mr. Milner*, *fellow* and *tutor*, now *master* of *Queen's College*, and *Dean* of *Carlisle:* whose extraordinary attainments in *mathematics* and *philosophy* were the praise and admiration of his contemporaries: but I am not informed whether the public at large be in possession of any proof of his powers beyond a paper in the Philosophical Transactions relative to the *nutation of the poles of the earth* and the *precession* of the *equinoxes*, and several other articles in that collection.

I ever esteemed this gentleman to be endowed with one of the most vigorous and penetrating minds. He once preacht an excellent sermon at *St. Mary's*, on a *fast*, during the *American* war: but his *theological* opinions,

in connexion with his conduct, were always, I confess, to me, who yet affect some insight into the human character, one of the inscrutabilities of mystery.

The other members of our club were *Mr. Mounsey, fellow* and *tutor* of our college; whom I have mentioned before;[c] and *Mr. Vince*, originally of *Caius* College, but then, if I rightly recollect, of *Sidney*. He has since been elected a fellow of the Royal Society and still lives in Cambridge, where he is *Plumian Professor of Astronomy and experimental Philosophy*. It must be a strained panegyric indeed that exceeds his deserts, either as an accomplished mathematician, or an amiable man. This gentleman, I believe, has been rewarded with no preferment adequate to his reasonable pretensions.

The rest of our associates, except poor *Mounsey*, who is mouldering into dust, in the "land where all things are forgotten," and where even mitred heads themselves will soon be bowed down, undistinguished from their fellows;[d] the rest of our associates, I say, are

[c] See p. 88. supra.

[d] A short copy of verses, applicable to this sentiment, has been floating in my memory ever since my childhood. Whether they are trite or no, and who is their author, I cannot recol-

comfortably raised on the sunny hill of dignity and wealth, and look down, from their warm stations, on the vulgar crowd below them, labouring up the steep; and, among the tribe of miscellaneous adventurers, on *me* also, once their equal in dignity and rank, though now shewing to their distant view not "*grosser than a beetle.*"

Methinks some of them might have found leisure and inclination to devise means of gratifying an ambition that never aspired beyond a trivial competency, for the enjoyment of a literary life, in one whom they uniformly professt to esteem and love; but it were impious to repine; I check every murmur of my heart; my spirits overflow with consolation from a thousand sources; and I recollect that the *Son*

lect; but they are beautiful, comfortable, and admonishing; and shall be quoted here:

" I dreamt, that buried in my fellow clay,
Close by a common beggar's side I lay:
And as so mean an object shockt my pride,
Thus, like a corpse of consequence, I cried:
' Scoundrel! be gone; and henceforth touch me not;
More manners learn and at a distance rot.'
' How, scoundrel!' with a haughtier tone cried he:
' Proud lump of earth! I scorn thy words, and thee.
Here all are equal; here thy lot is mine:
This is my rotting place, and that is thine.' "

W.

of God himself, "*the Captain of our Salvation*,"[e] went up to his *Father's* throne by the steps of sorrow.

After this enumeration of my particular associates, and mentioning *Dr. Bennet*, now the *Bishop* of *Cloyne*, also among the number of my friends, and *Dr. Sutton*, now the *Bishop* of *Norwich*, as my acquaintance, without specifying others of considerable elevation in the church, I may fairly apply to my case the lines of *Horace:*

——— " Quicquid sum ego, quamvis
Infra Lucilî censum, ingeniumque, tamen me
Cum magnis vixisse invita fatebitur usque
Invidia, et, fragili quærens illidere dentem,
Offendet solido." [f]

[e] Heb. ii. 10.

[f] Hor. Sat. 2. 1. 74.

" For me (though claiming no pretence
To equal fortune, wit, or sense),
Envy, though grieved, must still confess,
The great approve me, and caress,
And thus her base attacks shall fail,
Foiled, like the viper in the tale."

BOSCAWEN.

CHAP. VII.

Mr. Wakefield's Application for a Curacy—Three Maxims of Horace—Reflections and Remarks on quitting the University.

1778.

My friends had now left, or were leaving college daily; and feeling myself inclined to try my fortune in the great world, I advertised for a curacy. Part of a letter, which I received on this occasion, is no bad specimen of the *reasonableness* of the superior clergy, and the drudgery of curates; for the reader's entertainment it is here inserted, with my answer:

" Rev. Sir,

" The duty required is, two Sermons every Sunday, except the first in each month, when the Sacrament is administered; and prayers on every Wednesday, Friday, and all holidays; and moreover on almost every day during the season of Lent, besides occasional duties. The Church is rather large, and requires a pretty strong clear voice. When I am here, as I usually am, and well, I take such a share of the duty as my health permits me to do. When I am absent, or not well, the whole rests upon the gentleman who undertakes it. The salary is *fifty pounds* a year, paid quarterly, if desired, *without any other emolument!*"—

" Rev. Sir, Cambridge, March 23, 1778.

" It is with extreme concern that I answer your letter so long after date; but, through the unpardonable negligence of my bookseller, I did not receive it till this afternoon. I sincerely wish this delay may be no greater disapppointment to you, than it is to me. You cannot be surprized that I should decline such an offer, if you are thoroughly persuaded, as I am, that 'the labourer is worthy of his hire.' "

Three maxims of *Horace* were essentially conducive to the regulation of my conduct whilst I remained in college, and, indeed, have regulated my subsequent life to this day. I recommend them to the serious attention of the *young* in particular.

The *first* is calculated to repress a conceited practice too prevalent in the world, of supposing the particular branch of knowledge, in which *we* happen to delight, more excellent and important than any other. A most silly affectation![s] originating in vanity, and pro-

s The surest road to the attainment of literary eminence, is an indefatigable attention to *one* particular pursuit, the peculiar object of our affection, with such a coincident and general cultivation of all useful knowledge, as shall enlarge our comprehension, and prevent those puerile partialities, which contract the sentiments, and lead us to an unworthy preference of our own pursuits, and an illiberal estimate of the pursuits of others. W.

" As there is a partiality to opinions, which, as we have

ductive of just contempt from well regulated minds.

"Nec tua laudabis studia, aut aliena reprendes."[h]

Nor thou the fav'rite studies of thy friend
Disparage, nor too much thine own commend.

already observed, is apt to mislead the understanding; so there is often a partiality to studies, which is prejudicial also to knowledge and improvement. Those sciences which men are particularly versed in, they are apt to value and extol, as if that part of knowledge which every one has acquainted himself with, were that alone which was worth the having, and all the rest were idle and empty amusements, comparatively of no use or importance. This is the effect of ignorance and not knowledge; the being vainly puffed up with a flatulency arising from a weak and narrow comprehension. It is not amiss that every one should relish the science that he has made his peculiar study; a view of it's beauties, and a sense of it's usefulness, carries a man on with the more delight and warmth, in the pursuit and improvement of it. But the contempt of all other knowledge, as if it were nothing in comparison of law or physic, of astronomy or chemistry, or perhaps some yet meaner part of knowledge, wherein I have got some smattering, or am somewhat advanced, is not only the mark of a vain or little mind, but does this prejudice in the conduct of the understanding, that it coops it up within narrow bounds, and hinders it from looking abroad into other provinces of the intellectual world, more beautiful possibly, and more fruitful than that which it had until then laboured in; wherein it might find, besides new knowledge, ways or hints whereby it might be enabled the better to cultivate it's own."

LOCKE's Conduct of the Understanding.
Sect. XXII. on Partiality.—See also Sect. XIX.

[h] Hor. Epist. i. 18. 39.

Mr. Knox, I am sorry to observe, is chargeable with this fault in several parts of his admirable writings. Let him rather confine his strictures to subjects of *Taste* and *Criticism*.

——— " illâ se jactet in aulâ
Æolus."[i]

In his own province let him still bear sway.

The *second* maxim was eminently serviceable in guarding me, in early life, against unnecessary indulgencies of meats and drinks, and especially that daily indiscriminate use of *wine* among young men, which should be reserved as a cordial to the stomach, and a solace for infirmities. It is an admirable maxim!

——— " Tibi quidnam accedet ad istam
Quam puer, ac validus, præsumis mollitiem, seu
Dura valetudo inciderit, seu tarda senectus."[k]

" For fainting age what cordial drop remains,
If our intemperate youth the vessel drains?"[l]

The *third* was my "*phylactery*," "the *frontlet between my eyes*," the constant object of my attention: and it is, indeed, a powerful preservative from vice, a spur to industry and order; and constitutes the most valuable re-

[i] Æn. I. 140. [k] Hor. Sat. ii. 2. 85. [l] Pope.

commendation that literature can boast. I wish my advice, and imperfect experience of it's benefits, could persuade every youth to engrave it, in impressions not to be effaced, on the tablet of his heart, and exemplify it in his daily practice!

——————————— " et nî
Posces ante diem librum cum lumine; si non
Intendes animum studiis, et rebus honestis,
Invidiâ, vel amore, vigil torquebere." [m]

" Rise, light thy candle, see thy task begun
Ere redd'ning streaks proclaim the distant sun;
Or *Lust's* fierce whirlwind will thy calm molest,
Or *Envy* cloud the sunshine of thy breast."

Sweet bard! most musical, most instructive! receive at least a poetical benediction in the language of thy successful imitator:

" Oh! may thy grave with rising flow'rs be drest,
And the green turf lie lightly on thy breast!" [n]

On *April* the *thirteenth*, 1778, I left the university for the curacy of *Stockport*, in *Cheshire*, whither I shall soon convey the reader. In the mean time, as *Dr. Jortin* [o] has

[m] Hor. Epist. i. 2. 34.

[n] Pope's Elegy on an unfortunate Lady.

[o] Eccl. Hist. Preface, p. 29.

observed, with all the pathos of a pensive spirit, in words unspeakably soothing to the mind; "An agreeable remembrance of former days presents itself:"

——— "Nec me meminisse pigebit Alumnæ,
Dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus." [p]

Five years and a *half*, with little interruption, did I pass in this blissful seat, in the enjoyments of friendship, and the pursuits of learning. The occasional undulations which the force of ambition, or the gusts of passion, might raise upon the surface of my breast, were soon calmed by the infusions of time and the sunshine of religion.

When I traced those hallowed paths which the most illustrious of my species had trodden before me; when I rambled on those banks, ranged those fields, or sauntered in those groves, where BACON reasoned, NEWTON meditated, and MILTON sang; an awful complacency breathed over my spirits: the images of these unrivalled heroes at once inspired my emulation, and annihilated every sentiment of

[p] Æn. IV. 335.

Ne'er can my mind forget *my Alma's* name
While vital breath inspires my mortal frame.

self-sufficiency. I felt the full impression of those enraptured effusions of the poet:

" I seem through consecrated walks to rove,
And hear soft music die along the grove.
Led by the sound, I roam from shade to shade,
By God-like poets venerable made." [q]

Before I quit this subject, my *Alma Mater*,

[q] Pope's Windsor Forest, v. 267.

" Movemur enim, nescio quo pacto, locis ipsis, in quibus eorum, quos diligimus aut admiramur adsunt vestigia. Me, quidem, ipsæ illæ noſtræ Athenæ, non tam operibus magnificis, exquisitisque antiquorum artibus, delectant, quam recordatione summorum virorum, ubi quisque habitare, ubi sedere, ubi disputare sit solitus; studioseque eorum etiam sepulcra contemplor." Cic. de Legg. II. 2. W.

" In these celebrated seats there is at least one very powerful incentive to learning; I mean the Genius *of the place*. It is a sort of inspiring deity, which every youth of quick sensibility and ingenuous disposition creates to himself, by reflecting that he is placed under those venerable walls, where a Hooker and a Hammond, a Bacon and a Newton, once pursued the same course of science; and from whence they soared to the most elevated heights of literary fame. This is that incitement which *Tully*, according to his own testimony, experienced at *Athens*, when he contemplated the porticos where *Socrates* sat, and the laurel groves where *Plato* disputed." Idler, N° 33.—It appears that this paper was written by *Mr. Warton*, the late poet-laureate. See Memoirs of his Life, by Mr. Mant (p. 37), prefixed to the new edition of his works.

to whom I am bound by so many obligations, must excuse a freedom, originating in a sincere desire for her welfare, if I endeavour to point out the defects of her constitution, with the conviction of a clear insight into the subject, and with the confidence of truth.

And here, at my entrance on this topic, I must stop to address a few words of expostulation to *Dr. Knox*, after premising, with the view of a favourable hearing from this gentleman, that I am a warm admirer of his writings, and particularly of his "*Treatise on Education*;" excepting, peradventure, when he quits his province, and presumes to dictate, with equal decision and inefficiency, upon subjects of which he proves himself to be almost, if not altogether, ignorant—mathematical philosophy,[r]

[r] It is observed, and apparently to the disparagement of *Mathematical Philosophy* and her votaries, by a writer whose manly sense, and spirit of dispassionate discussion, claim a peculiar deference to his sentiments on every topic upon which his accomplishments are exercised, that, "few of those who during the early part of their lives have gone deep into mathematics, acquire such a relish for them, as to be induced spontaneously to continue their application to them at an after period;" and "that mathematical pursuits are usually deserted, as soon as the incidental motives which caused them to be entered upon, or the first ardour of curiosity, have ceased." Aikin's Letters to his Son, ii. 322 and 323.—But we must observe, that the direct end of understanding the laws by

I mean, and theology. In express proof and illustration of this censure, as it regards the *latter* subject, he has since written two volumes on the "Evidences of Christianity."[s]

I revere the man for his spirited and convincing letter to the *Chancellor of Oxford*; for his triumph over prejudice; for his noble and strenuous opposition to the barbarism of education, and the vices of *his University*, who infinitely disgraces herself by neglecting a monitor so competent and respectable.

He is endowed with the genuine intrepidity of a martyr; and if we had been fortunate enough to have had with us at *Cambridge* a man of his honesty and firmness, in the way of investigation and enquiry, during the infancy of his literary career, he would, doubtless, at this day, have been fighting under our standard the battles of a more honourable field.[t]

which the universe is governed has been attained, and the indirect end also of habituating the mind to the purifying influences of geometrical demonstration. W.

[s] "Christian Philosophy, or an Attempt to display the Evidence and Excellence of revealed Religion."

[t] I wish his integrity, good sense, and candour, had inclined him to a dispassionate consideration of the temperate, but manly and judicious expostulation of my amiable and much respected friend *Dr. Disney*, upon the subject of the

" Qui talis est, utinam esset noster!"

But though Dr. Knox has been advertised of his former misrepresentations of our discipline at *Cambridge*, he still continues speaking of the *Universities, as much alike*; and, in a variety of places throughout his works, neglects that discrimination which he somewhere explicitly acknowledges, and which, on the authority of his informers, should invariably be made; for he evidently knows nothing himself of our proceedings.

Your *Oxford disputationes in parviso*, your *doing juraments*, your *quodlibets*, and the rest of your horrid jargon, painfully grating to *Cambridge* ears, and fit only to be chattered by *monkies* in a wilderness, are mysteries as strange to us, as to the darkling *Greenlander* of the *North*, or the savage of *Caffraria*. In short, our author's undistinguishing censures upon this subject are highly reprehensible, and will be corrected by him with scrupulous exactness, if he loves truth, as he seems to love her, and holds calumny in abhorrence.

traditionary creed of his fathers. Our divine seems to ground his attachment to it very much upon that circumstance of early initiation; but he should examine himself, and see whether he may not find occasion with *St. Paul*, " now he is become a *man* to put away these *childish things*." W.

In specifying the defects of *our University*, I shall barely mention the impolicy and injustice common to both, of excluding such a numerous portion of society, by *ecclesiastical* restrictions, from the emoluments and conveniences of those elegant retreats; thus contracting the sphere of emulation, and intercepting the opportunities of knowledge, to the prodigious hindrance of useful literature. At this topic, I say, I shall merely glance. The son of *Orthodoxy* will cry out—"He is mounting again upon his *hobby-horse* that cannot jog peaceably along the king's high-road; but kicks and flounces to the great annoyance of the passenger."

My friend *Mr. Tyrwhitt* once offered a *grace*,[a] either that the *Undergraduates* should be compelled to attend the sermons at *St. Mary's*, or that those sermons should be abolished. Could REASON herself have made a proposal more unexceptionable? And yet, I think he told me, it did not find more than *six* or *seven* abettors; among which number, the

[a] "A '*grace*' of the *University senate* bears some resemblance to an act of the British parliament; it's authority, in all matters relative to academical discipline, is supreme—in cases wherein nothing is enacted in opposition to the laws of the land." JEBB's Works, II. 309 and 316.

honesty and good sense of *Dr. Cooke*, the *Provost of King's*, whom I am happy to commend, and of *Dr. Hey*, if I rightly recollect, induced these gentlemen to rank themselves.

Now what can be conceived more disgraceful to the university, than for strangers to go into the church, on a *Saint's day*, and see the preacher exhibiting only to the *Vice-chancellor*, the *Beadle*, *Mr. Blue-Coat*, and the *walls*? [x]

Should the spectator by chance come to a station under the *eastern* gallery, the preacher alone would be exposed to his view; and would forcibly remind him of *Amphion* exerting his powers on the stones, or of "a voice crying in the wilderness."

Another very great evil (for I shall not mention what can only be remedied by a *parliamentary* reformation of their statutes) is the practice of nominating *tutors* to their office upon the ground of no other distinction than the casual determination of *seniority*. Hence it happens that men below mediocrity in their literary qualifications, are sometimes chosen to direct the studies of the college: an inconceivable prejudice to learning, and a most

[x] Τμεις, ακροαται κηρυκος, χαιρετε, κλεινου·
Εν στεγος, ανδρε δυω, τειχεα και πισυρα.

mortifying discouragement of real talents! This grievance, however, would in a great measure be done away, without the invidious necessity of preference in the master by choosing none to fellowships but upon the claim of merit.

The morning and evening prayers (which are much too long) are *seldom* attended *at all* by the fellows: and with *no seriousness of devotion* by the undergraduates. Yet these might be contrived, probably without danger of interference from their *political* or *ecclesiastical* superiors, to contribute much more to the edification of the student.

The indecorum attendant on this branch of discipline, especially in winter mornings, is even ludicrous. And nothing can be more truly descriptive of a reality, than a stanza in the *parody* of "Gray's Elegy:"

> "Haply some friend may shake his hoary head,
> And say: 'Each morn, unchill'd by frosts, he ran,
> With hose ungarter'd, o'er yon turfy bed,
> To reach the chapel ere the psalms began.'"[y]

I am too well apprised of the good sense of my Cambridge friends to suppose their judgment upon these abuses to resemble the decision

[y] Duncombe's Evening Contemplation in a College.

of a certain prelate in my neighbourhood, when application was made to him by the curate of a church in his diocese, for permission to discontinue the weekly prayers, for want of an audience. "Oh! no;" says this idolizer of solemnity and form; "it is very proper that the bell should ring, and the curate attend, notwithstanding no parishioner should be there!!"

"Ridete quicquid est domi cachinnorum![z]

What I am now going to allege will appear indeed to many, I am sensible, a point of a very unimportant nature, but it strikes me as exceedingly prejudicial both to learning and morals; I mean the *late hour of dinner*, which has been very generally adopted in colleges, since I quitted the university. When I have, in conversation, frequently objected to this innovation,[a] the uniform answer is, "It makes a *long morning*." For what?—for riding out perhaps, and taking pleasure; not for the opportunities which this long morning furnishes for continued study.

The mind, I am persuaded, profits most from

[z] Catull. XXIX. 14.

[a] "The dinner hour at *Oxford* was *eleven o'clock* in the morning, so late as the latter end of the seventeenth century." See Directions Divine, &c. p. 8, and Earle, p. 40. W.

regular and repeated interventions of meals, exercise, and society: but to such a methodical intersection of the time, and to all the advantages resulting from it, this division of the day into *two* parts only, is, of course, the grand obstacle. The pernicious consequences of this practice do not, however, end here. After so long an interval, the appetite is necessarily sharpened; the stomach is led to overload itself, and thus oppresses with the body the *mind* also, "that particle of ætherial air,"[b] as the poet calls it.

Besides, bodily health is allowed by the sons of medicine to be much promoted by *frequent meals* with *moderation*, and impaired by a distribution of the day, which leaves the digestive powers for a long time unexercised, and then tries them to excess. The *tea* in an afternoon, a light and wholesome meal, under this new arrangement, is a secondary consideration, and falls into neglect. The habit also of esteeming the labours of the day to conclude with dinner-time, naturally leads, as every one must see, to *idleness*, and *intemperance* in the student.

These remarks, if they have any foundation at all in reason and propriety, must not

[b] —— "divinæ particulam auræ."
Hor. Sat. II. 2. 79.

be slighted or received with ridicule, as puerile and insignificant. Nothing ought to be disregarded that has the remotest influence on the promotion of learning, and the establishment of virtue in the rising generation.

> "Let school-taught pride dissemble all it can,
> These little things are great to little man."[c]

The constitution of *King's College*, to the inexpressible loss of literature, is particularly unfortunate. The gentlemen of this society, from the advantages of their education at *Eton*, come (I make no scruple to declare it) by far better prepared to cultivate letters, than the members of any other foundation whatever, in either university. That school sends out, as far as my experience can form a judgment, much the best scholars in this kingdom. Those particularly from *Westminster*, in my time, were indeed mean proficients, undistinguished altogether among their contemporaries: and, in general, the produce of all our other great schools in the *South* were, almost to a man, inferior to the common run of the *Etonians*.

Yet as the students of *King's* are prevented, by the singularity of their statutes, from en-

[c] Goldsmith.

gaging in the *mathematical* and *philosophical* occupations of the place, and have no specific object presented to their ambition, they, almost universally, relapse into idleness and dissipation: so that, instead of "going on unto perfection," they become *stationary* first, and then *retrograde.* Accordingly their *meridian altitude* is the moment of their quitting school; and their academical course, a gradual *declination* from it.

In consequence of these unhappy circumstances, though *King's* college never contains less than *seventy* members, of the best initiation possible in classic authors, this numerous society has sent out scarcely a man, in *three hundred* years, that can claim a rank among the *most celebrated critics* and *philologists* of this nation, in the ancient languages; and few in fact who have exceeded the common editors of school-books.

Indeed the school at large cannot boast many of *distinguished eminence* in their own branch of knowledge; and Mr. PORSON, fellow of Trinity College, and Greek professor at Cambridge, shines both among his contemporary schoolfellows, and all his predecessors at Eton, *like the Moon among the lesser stars.* LEARNING sends them forth, as *Achilles* sent *Patroclus,* well equipped for her warfare; but

is recompensed by no triumphs proportionate to her expectations, and their accomplishments.

> Τον ρ' ηποι μεν επεμπε συν ἱπποισιν και οχεσφιν
> Εις πολεμον, ουδ' αυτις εδεξατο νοστησαντα. [d]
>
> Him richly deck'd, he sent with steeds and car,
> But saw no more returning from the war.

Upon this subject it cannot be enough regretted, that men do not more frequently pursue their studies from *principle;* nor consider them with reference to their important influence on the melioration of human life, and the promotion of public virtue; but regard them rather as a selfish amusement. [e]

And now I will conclude this disputation concerning the defects of our university, [f] in

[d] Hom. Il. xviii. 237.

[e] "Of the number that pass their lives among books, very few," says Johnson, "read to be made wiser or better. They purpose either to consume those hours for which they can find no other amusement, to gain or preserve that respect which learning has always obtained; or to gratify their curiosity with knowledge, which, like treasures buried and forgotten, is of no use to others, or themselves."

Rambler, N° 87.

[f] On this topic of university education, I earnestly recommend *Dr. Newton's* book of that title: a specimen (in my judgment) of perspicuous reasoning, amiable benevolence, and dignified independence. W.

the words of that honest historian, FULLER the *Jester*, as *Warburton* well styles him.

" Lately a college in Cambridge, much beautified with additional buildings, sent a messenger to a doctor, who had been a great, and promised to be a greater, benefactor unto them, requesting him to remember them, or else their college must even *stand still.* To whom the doctor answered—*May your college and all the colleges in both the Universities* STAND STILL. In the charitable meaning whereof all good men will concur."

I give at least *my* hearty concurrence to the wish. ESTOTE PERPETUÆ!

CHAP. VIII.

Mr. Wakefield fixes at Stockport—Rev. Mr. Watson—Dr. Byrom—Confirmation at Stockport by Bishop Porteus—Rev. Mr. Wilde—Archbishop Secker.

1778—1782.

On May the third, 1778, I arrived at *Stockport*, in *Cheshire* (the *second* or *third* best living in this kingdom), as curate to the Rev. John Watson, M. A. formerly *Fellow* of *Brazen-nose College, Oxford.* This gentleman has given some account of himself in his "*History of the Antiquities of Halifax,*" to which I refer the reader who wishes any information on this point.

He was a very lively, conversable, well-informed man; and one of the hardest students I ever knew. His great excellence was a knowledge of *Antiquities*; and several papers on these subjects are preserved in the *Archæologia of the Antiquarian Society,* of which he was a member.

He compiled a book to prove the right of *Sir George Warren,* of *Poynton,* near *Stockport,* and patron of the benefice, to the *barony* of

Stockport. Not more than *six* copies, I think, of this work were printed: *Eyres* of *Warrington* had this *honour*; for it was, perhaps, the most accurate specimen of typography ever produced by any press.

He publisht also in 1764, a sermon preacht at *Lancaster assizes*, and one on the *thirtieth of January*, several years before, in vindication of his conduct with respect to that day. When *curate* of *Halifax*, he usually preacht on the anniversary of this fast, in *defence* of the transactions of those times; a procedure which naturally gave rise to much misrepresentation and surmise. He accordingly in 1755, printed *verbatim* the only sermon [s] on this subject that

[s] "Kings shou'd obey the Laws. A Sermon preach'd at the Chapel of Ripponden, in Yorkshire, January 30, 1755; proving that King Charles I. did not govern like a good King of England; with Reasons why his Character is so much esteem'd, and with some Advice on that Head. By John Watson, M. A. Curate of the said Chapel."—He had before published in 1751 (to vindicate himself from some misrepresentations) "A Sermon preach'd in the Parish Church of Halifax, entitled Moderation, or a candid disposition towards those that differ from us, recommended and enforced:"—
"Which if any man," says *Archdeacon Blackburne*, "who has sixpence to spare, will purchase, peruse, and lay to heart, he will lay out his time and his money very well."

See note in "A serious Enquiry into the Use and Importance of external Religion," &c. re-published by Baron in "Pillars of Priestcraft," &c. See IV. 162.

escaped the destruction by fire of his house at *Ripponden*, in *Yorkshire*, of which place he was afterwards minister. When he became rector of *Stockport* he discouraged the performance of the service customary on that day, but suffered his curates to follow their own inclinations in this respect.

He was by no means destitute of poetical fancy; had written some good songs, and was possessed of a most copious collection of *bon mots*, facetious stories, and humorous compositions of every kind, both in verse and prose, copied out with uncommon accuracy and neatness.

He once had a *Newspaper* altercation with the celebrated *Doctor Byrom* (as he was commonly called) of *Manchester*,[h] author, among other poems, of that admirable ballad in the *eighth* volume of the *Spectator*—

(" My time, O ye Muses, was happily spent")—

written when he was an undergraduate of *Trinity College, Cambridge*, in compliment to *Joanna*,

[h] Where " he died on the 28th of September, 1763, in the seventy-second year of his age," having supported himself " for several years" by teaching " his new method of writing short-hand" till a " family estate devolved to him by the death of an elder brother."

Biog. Brit. 2d ed. vol. 3. 121.—Article *Byrom*.

daughter of the great *Dr. Bentley*, then master of that society. This lady afterwards married the late *Dr. Denison Cumberland*, *Bishop* of *Kilmore* in *Ireland*, and was mother of the celebrated *Mr. Cumberland.*

The subjects of dispute were "*turning to the East*, and *bowing to the name of Jesus.*" The doctor could not write prose, but poured out *Hudibrastic* verse in a copious and perennial stream, with the fluency of common conversation.[1] Our rector engaged this poetical champion with his own weapon; and combated the superstition of his antagonist with vivacity and success.

I resided some weeks under the hospitable roof of this intelligent and entertaining man, whose conduct towards me was, on every occasion, to the last degree, friendly and respectful: nor was he ever known to quit his study with such readiness on account of any other visitor of similar rank of life.

During this time, *Dr. Porteus*, the present *Bishop* of *London*, came to *Stockport*, and lodged with us, in the progress of his primary visi-

[1] "It was remarkable in Mr. Byrom, that he had so accustomed himself to the language of poetry, that he always found it the easiest way of expressing his sentiments upon every occasion." Biog. Brit. ubi supra, p. 122.

tation, as *Bishop* of *Chester.* His lordship, understanding that I was just come from *Cambridge*, with distinguished affability and condescension, directed the conversation to this point; and, among other remarks upon the state of the *University*, at that time, lamented exceedingly, that no proper provision was made for regular lectures in *Theology*; an idea which he had formally enforced in an excellent sermon, preached by him for his *Doctor's degree*, at the *commencement* in 1767.

I observed upon this, that *theological* instruction, as a part of *academical* education, was undoubtedly a very important consideration in itself; but I thought an *unbiassed disposition for enquiry* into truth, and especially religious truth—a frame of mind most difficult to attain, and the rarest of all accomplishments!—was of much higher consequence; and it was to be feared, that no lectures could be given, divested of all peculiarities of opinion, which would hardly fail to introduce themselves (in spite even of the watchfulness of integrity itself) for the purpose of defending *systems* and *establishments:* and this inconvenience, I humbly thought, no advantages of instruction could possibly compensate.

The *Bishop*, in reply, did not think that, in proper hands, such a partiality would be a ne-

cessary concomitant of these lectures: and here our disputation ended; as I thought it improper for me to urge the argument with eagerness and pertinacity.

When his lordship left us, I said to the rector, "The bishop, no doubt, would think me a very forward youth!" "No," says he: "so far from that, he expresst his satisfaction with your conversation, and lamented that the straitness of his time should prevent a longer enjoyment of your company."

We had at that time a general *confirmation* in *Stockport* Church; and during the celebration of this unscriptural and frivolous ceremony, I remember saying to *Mr. Wilde*, of *Chadkirk*, in all the restlessness of impatience to be delivered from such an ignominious confinement, what I hope the reader will think a very ingenious and pertinent quotation:

"Turpe est difficiles habere nugas,
Et stultus labor est ineptiarum."[k]

[k] Martial, II. 86. 9.

And yet I recollect, when I was confirmed at *Kingston*, a woman, old enough to have been my *grandmother*, underwent this operation for the *fourth* time at least. "I feel myself," said she, "so much strengthened by the bishop's hands!"—*Crede quod habes, et habes.*

A late *Archbishop of York*, after a confirmation at *Leeds*,

But this excellent person just mentioned must not be passed over with such a cursory memorial. His stedfastness of integrity demands a particular tribute of respect from a congenial and sympathizing brother. He continued through life on a small cure of *forty* pounds a year, and might have united an adjoining benefice to his little income, had he been willing to *repeat* his subscription to the *thirty-nine articles.* His diocesan, *Bishop Porteus* (whom I am happy in any opportunity of commending), greatly to his honour, professt himself ready to indulge the scruples of his conscientious brother, but found such indulgence incompatible with the duties of his office.

Mr. Wilde was a contemporary at *Brazennose* with my rector, *Mr. Watson*; and since *Bishop Horsley* delights in representing us *Heretics* as a set of mortals distinguished by nothing but virulence and want of literature,

came into the house of his host, and trussing up his cassoc-sleeves, " Give me," says he to his friend, " a bason of water, to wash my hands after this dirty work, in more senses than one." W.

1 Scilicet uni æquus virtuti, atque ejus amicis.

Ea laus grata esse potestati debet excelsæ, cum interdum et vituperationi secus gestorum pateat locus. Amm. Marc. W.

I will subjoin a short note which he once sent me on returning *Mr. Evanson's* admirable letter to *Bishop Hurd*, as a clear proof (though on a trivial and incidental occasion) of his elegance of learning and sprightliness of wit:

" Sir, Otterspool Bridge, July 26, 1778.

" I LEAVE home to-morrow morning, and may probably be absent a fortnight. I have directed this pamphlet to be sent to you; which I have read with great pleasure, and for which I return you my thanks."

" I wish I could think with Mr. *Evanson*, that a reformation, so greatly wanted, must and will ere long take place. I am not so sanguine: nor can I entertain quite so favourable an opinion of mankind. I do not believe that there is virtue enough left among us to effect a reformation of any consequence: and I am verily persuaded that if the BIBLE was burnt to-morrow, and the ALCORAN introduced and established in it's stead, we should still (provided the emoluments were the same) have plenty of *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*."

" Wherever, and whatever you are; whether as fame reports is likely to be the case—" irrupta tenet copula;" [m] or whether you chuse, " pulsare terram pede libero;" [n]—I sincerely wish you health, and all possible happiness, and am your most humble servant,

J. WILDE."

With the reader's leave, I will here break through the fence of chronology to pursue my anecdotes of *Bishop Porteus*, as far as I am

[m] Hor. Od. I. 13. 18. [n] Hor. Od. I. 37. 1.

personally concerned in them. About four years after this time, he came on a *visitation*, and to *consecrate* a chapel at *Warrington*, in *Lancashire*, where I then lived. He was entertained by my respected friend *Mr. Owen*, * then, and at this day, rector of the place; a man of most elegant learning, unimpeachable veracity, and peculiar benevolence of heart; who once thought as highly of this prelate's excellencies as myself.

The conversation turned upon *me*. Mr. Owen mentioned his acquaintance with me; which was then but slight. The bishop spoke handsomely of my character, and noticed my "*commentary on St. Matthew*" with approba-

* This gentleman is the author of several sermons and tracts; and more distinguished by a translation of *Juvenal* and *Persius*, with a preface, and disputations relative to his author, highly meritorious and instructive. For propriety, perspicuity, and elegance of expression, *Mr. Owen* has not many equals, at a time when good writing is become so general.

My friend, as a dutiful son of *his Alma Mater*, (for he is an *Oxonian*) is a *very good churchman*, and wonders at my *outrageous heresies*. When I have seen him, of late years, he would presently begin with a lamentation of my secession from the church, and of my principles. Now no bad estimate may be formed of our respective principles from their effects. *Mine* have led me to the sacrifice of all worldly interests; *his* led him to an acquiescence in the emoluments of a good rectory, and a good free-school. W.

tion; and, moreover, expresst himself ready to serve me, if an opportunity should offer.

In consequence of my good opinion of his lordship, corroborated by such liberal professions, when in a later period of my history, all my dependence for a comfortable livelihood rested on the acquisition of a few pupils, and I thought he could not serve me in any way with more ease and less hinderance to himself, I presumed to state my situation to him, and request his patronage in this respect.

To this modest application of a poor *Deacon*, our gracious *Bishop* did not condescend to return an answer. Letters seldom miscarry but to great people. Had mine conveyed intelligence of a translation to the see of *Durham*, how expeditious would have been the reply!

Bishop Pretyman was also very liberal in these *professions* of service;[p] and as faithful in performing them as his brother—*Nobile par fratrum!*—Here it will be suggested by some, "the acrimony of your writings against the establishment prevented their interference in your behalf." Not so: for their expressions of good-will were *subsequent* to the most obnoxious of my publications.

p Ουδεις ηδεν εχοντι φιλος.

Who must not be convinced, that with their connexion in the higher orders of society, these prelates might have patronised me in this respect to the utmost extent of my fondest wishes (and with a good conscience too, as they could not but allow my competency for this employment) without the least detriment or expence to themselves, without any diminution of claims and influence, to the prejudice of their own interest and views, because the recommender of a tutor *confers* a favour on a parent, rather than *receives* one?

Yet *not one* of my *old* acquaintance, and *new* admirers, high in station and powerful in influence, ever befriended me in a *single* instance, by their good offices in my behalf: but, while their *gilded vessels* drive before the gale in all their gallantry, they disdainfully ride by my *little bark*; and behold it, with perfect unconcern, buffetted by the wind, and assailed by the wave.

In connexion with my *Lord* of *London*, formerly the *Chaplain*, and afterwards the *Biographer* of *Archbishop Secker*, there is an anecdote, delectable enough, probably unknown even to his lordship, touching his *imperious* and *persecuting*[q] master; a prelate, who thought

[q] ——— "his *Grace* required subscription and retraction, without any warrant or authority, with respect to opi-

himself bound, after the example of all interested converts, (for in such a case I con-

nions, no otherwise censurable, than as they did not agree with his own system. One of these cases related to the doctrine of an *intermediate state*, which had been controverted in print by a learned and ingenious gentleman, who had afterwards occasion to apply to his grace for a dispensation in order to hold a second living. His grace's behaviour upon that occasion was such, that one of his advocates thought it necessary to apologize for it in a monthly magazine. The circumstances, though *not unknown to me*, I take not upon me to give. The worthy sufferer is still living, and best qualified to judge how far it is expedient, either to publish or to suppress them. With respect to *another* case, I am not under the like restraint; and shall therefore give it just as it was transmitted to me. 'When the late Mr. W. a clergyman of *Kent*, came to the *Archbishop* for a dispensation to hold a second living, his grace took occasion to examine him upon the subject of *miracles*, with regard to their *duration* in the church after the days of Christ and his Apostles. Mr. W. frankly told him his opinion, that miracles ceased after the times of the apostles, and the spreading of the gospel through the Roman empire. The *Archbishop* would have it, that they continued *some centuries afterwards*, and *insisted on his retracting his assertion in a formal writing under his hand.*' Now what authority had his *grace*, from any part of the constitution of the *Church of England*, for exercising this *pontifical tyranny* over the consciences of these two gentlemen, with respect to either of these points?—These indeed are *inquisitorial features* which strike through the thickest varnish his grace's ingenious biographers can plaister over his natural complexion. And after these manœuvres got wind, is it any marvel that it should be remembered his grace was a *Proselyte*,

ceive sincere conviction to be scarcely possible) to recede the greatest distance from the tolerant principles of his *dissenting* education, that he might remove every suspicion, as *Blackburne* expresses it, "*of hankering after his old deviations.*"

The late *Mr. Williams*,[r] of *Nottingham*, a dissenting minister, and my intimate acquaintance, was told by *Mr. Statham*, who was likewise a dissenting minister at *Nottingham*, that *Secker*, in conversation with *Mr. Robert Dawson* (from whom *Mr. Statham* received this circumstance) and some other dissenting ministers (about the time, I presume, of *Secker's* preaching among the *sectaries* at *Bolsover*, in *Derbyshire*), had expressed himself in terms, strongly declaratory of his ambitious turn of mind. "Aye," says *Dawson*, "nothing will do for you *Secker!* but conformity." "No,"

and one of that zealous sort who are eager to prove the sincerity of their conversion, by *persecuting* all who are less pliable to their politics?"

Archdeacon BLACKBURNE, in his Historical View, &c. 2d edit. 1772, p. 245. Note.

[r] Formerly chaplain in a family at *Fairford* in *Gloucestershire*; and on a very friendly footing with the well-known *Dr. Atwell*, rector of that place, and head of a house in *Oxford*. W.

replied *Secker*, like another *Hazael*,[s] with indignant earnestness; "CONFORM I—NEVER CAN."[t]

[s] 2 Kings viii. 13.

[t] This anecdote of *Secker* suggests one of a similar nature relating to the celebrated *Chillingworth*. In a highly interesting letter addressed by this extraordinary man to his friend and patron Dr. (afterwards archbishop) *Sheldon*, and inserted at length by *Whiston* in his "Memoirs of *Dr. Clarke*," is contained the following remarkable passage:

"Good Dr. Sheldon, I do here send you news, as unto my best friend, of a great and happy victory, which at length with extream difficultie I have scarcely obtained over the only enemie that can hurt me, that is, myself. Sir, so it is, that though I am in debt to yourselfe and others of my friends above twenty pounds more than I know how to pay; though I am in want of many conveniences; though in great danger of falling into a chronicall infirmitie of my body; though in another thing, which you perhaps guesse at what it is, but I will not tell you, which would make me more joyfull of preferment than all these (if I could come honestly by it); though money comes to me from my father's purse, like blood from his veins, or from his heart; though I am very sensible that I have been too long already an unprofitable burden to my lord, and must not still continue so; though my refusing preferment may perhaps (which fear, I assure you, does much afflict me) be injurious to my friends and intimate acquaintance, and prejudicial to them in the way of theirs; though conscious of my own good intention and desire, suggests unto me many flattering hopes of great possibilitie of doing God and his Church service, if I had that preferment which I may fairly hope for;

No man who has not directed his attention to this subject, so much as I have, can be at all aware of the marvellous efficacy of preferment, and the prospect of preferment, in *rectifying* the *intellect*, and *enlightening* the *eyes of the understanding*.

I know of no better *Epilogue* to my *farce*, which may well be denominated the *theological Proteus*, than some lines of *Butler*, that true child of wit and nature.

though I may justly fear that by refusing those preferments which I sought for, I shall gain the reputation of weaknesse and levity, and incur their displeasure, whose good opinion of me, next to God's favour, and my own good opinion of myself, I do esteem and desire above all things: though all these and many other *terribiles visu formæ* have represented themselves to my imagination in the most hideous manner that may be; yet I am at length firmly and unmoveably resolved, if I can have no preferment without *Subscription*, that I neither can, nor will have any."

That *Chillingworth* should, in the succeeding part of his life, have been induced to abandon the noble principles maintained in this admirable letter; and that he should at length have consented to accept preferment by compliance with *Subscription*, must ever be a subject of deep regret, and, together with other instances of a similar kind, must have a very unhappy influence on that numerous class of mankind who are too prone to justify their own laxity of principle and conduct, by appealing to the examples of distinguished men. The abovementioned letter is dated in 1635, when Chillingworth was upwards of thirty-two years of age.

"What's orthodox and true believing
Against a conscience? *A good living.*
What makes all doctrines plain and clear?
About two hundred pounds a year.
And that which was prov'd true before,
Prove false again? *Two hundred more.*"[a]

[a] Hudibras, Part III. Canto I. v. 1273, &c.

CHAP. IX.

Removal from Stockport—Brewood School—Mr. Wakefield settles at Liverpool—Rev. Mr. Maddock—Rev. I. Milner.

1778.

In August 1778 I quitted *Stockport*, and passed two months with my brother at *Richmond*; and during the time of my continuance there, was made happy by the prospect of a very agreeable establishment in life, without the embarrassments of those *ecclesiastical* functions, which began now to be exceedingly irksome to my feelings. The trustees of *Brewood* School, in *Staffordshire*, advertised for a master, and referred for information of the particulars to Mr. Careless the under-master. I accordingly applied to him; but was very precise in requesting him to let me know, whether my *subscription* to the *articles* were necessary as a qualification to this appointment, as I was determined in that case to make no solicitations for the post, from an extreme aversion to a *public* exhibition of myself, at that early age, as one who sacrificed his interests to his scruples. In proof of this I shall quote part of a

letter to my friend *Mr. Tyrwhitt* on this occasion.

" Richmond, Surry, Sept. 10, 1778.

——————— " The state of my conviction is sufficiently determinate to forbid any future subscription, though not to justify a formal relinquishment of my profession. I make very little account of the forfeiture of my fellowship. That will fall a sacrifice of course next commencement; and possibly by some other means before that time; which, as I should prefer it on several accounts, so particularly on this; to avoid even the appearance of forwardness and ostentation: as that would not only be highly ungraceful in so young a man, but is itself an abomination to me."

The answer of *Mr. Careless* to my application was as decisive as I could wish,—that *no such condition* whatever was necessary. Upon this information, I employed all the means in my power to secure the appointment.

Mr. Nevile also, fellow of our college, interested himself so far in my favour as to write to the same gentleman, and to engage *Mr. Mainwairing*, fellow of *St. John's*, to solicit some of the trustees in my behalf.

Dr. Farmer, at the instance of *Dr. Bennet*, the present *Bishop of Cloyne*, exerted his good offices in procuring me the interest of *Sir Edward Littleton*, one of the trustees.

Thus the whole progress of the affair was favourable to my suit, so that the school was morally certain of coming into my hands. At

this juncture, when just in possession of the prize, I discovered the *misinformation* of Mr. Careless, and was compelled to abandon my expectations.

As *Mr. Nevile*, who was so zealous for me on this application, is known to the literary world by his elegant imitations of *Horace*, *Juvenal*, and *Persius*, and his translation of *Virgil's Georgics*, and was in every respect an accomplished scholar, I shall indulge myself with the insertion of his letter to me on this occasion.

" Dear Sir,

" I AM favoured with your's of the 12th, and have a just sense of your civil expressions, which would admit of some abatement, did you but know what sincere pleasure I took in giving your true character to Sir Edward: you would then perceive that by engaging in your interest I had not so much conferred, as received, an obligation. Give me leave to add, that you owe this application to no private attachment of person or college, but to a sense of duty: for I should have condemned myself had my friend disgraced himself, or abused his trust by the want of any information which I had it in my power to send him. I am very sorry that any obstacle should be in your way to an office for which you are so exquisitely well qualified.

Believe me, dear Sir,
With the warmest wishes for your welfare,
Your friend and servant

Jes. Col.
Oct. 17, 1778.

THOMAS NEVILE."

I could mention some further circumstances respecting *Brewood School*,[x] honourable both to myself, and my patrons, on that occasion; whose kind opinions and friendly efforts will never be obliterated from my memory.

Soon after this disappointment of my hopes, I accepted the curacy of *St. Peter's* at *Liverpool*, principally with a view of establishing a day-school in that town, if a suitable opportunity should present itself.

Never did I live in any place where the *clergy* were treated with less respect, or where I was myself so little noticed. Out of twenty ministers of the establishment, and nearly as many of the dissenting denominations, not one, to the best of my recollection, ever called on me, or shewed me the least civility, excepting *Dr. Crigan*, then minister at *St. Ann's*, now *Bishop of Sodor and Man*; and my friend *Dr. Gregory*, now chaplain to the *Bishop of Landaff*. Nor was this inhospitality much to be regretted, for, indeed, at that time, nothing could surpass the low condition of the *Church of England Clergy* in this town, with respect to dignity of character, both in manners and in learning.

The gentlemen just spoken of, *Dr. Dobson*,

[x] See Appendix (A).

and *his lady* (who is known to the world by her *life of Petrarch*, and other works) with *Mr. William Rathbone*, an eminent merchant, were the only people of rational ideas, and instructive conversation, who ever condescended to solicit my acquaintance. My rector, *Mr. Maddock*, was then infirm, and resided at some distance from the town.

One day, I remember, he was expostulating with me on the subject of my dissatisfaction with the constitution and doctrines of our church; of which sentiments I made no secret at any time, when a good end could be accomplished by a declaration of them.

After some disputation on both sides, but without the least tendency to warmth and ill-humour in either of us, I finisht the debate by a plain question, which I heartily wish every member of the *church-establishment* to put to his own conscience; and to answer it deliberately, and solemnly, according to the report of that faithful arbiter, as he expects to render an account of his actions to the GREAT UMPIRE of the universe — "Tell me plainly, *Mr. Maddock*, did you ever read the Scriptures, with the express view of enquiring into the doctrine of a *Trinity*, EARLY IN LIFE, and before your preferment, or your prospects of preferment, might contribute to influence your

judgment, and make it *convenient* for you to acquiesce?"[y] "Why then," says he, "if you ask me that, I must honestly own, I NEVER DID."—It is scarcely needful to add, that he molested me no more on these questions.

[y] "Critolaus scripsit legatos Mileto publicæ rei causâ venisse Athenas, fortassean auxilii petendi gratiâ; tum qui pro sese verba facerent, quos visum erat, advocasse; advocatos, uti erat mandatum, verba pro Milesiis ad populum fecisse: Demosthenem Milesiorum postulatis acriter respondisse, neque Milesios auxilio dignos, neque ex republicâ id esse contendisse; rem in posterum diem prolatam; legatos ad Demosthenem venisse; magnoque opere orasse, uti contra ne diceret: eum pecuniam petivisse: et quantum petiverat abstulisse: postridie, quum res agi denuo cæpta esset, Demosthenem lanâ multâ collum cervicesque circumvolutum ad populum prodisse, et dixisse se synanchen pati; eò contra Milesios loqui non quire: tum è populo unum exclamasse, non synanchen, quod Demosthenes pateretur, sed argyranchen esse."

AUL. GELL. lib. XI. cap. 9. W.

"Critolaus relates, that ambassadors came from Miletus to Athens upon public business, perhaps to request assistance. They engaged what lawyers they thought proper to speak for them, who, as they were instructed, addressed the people in behalf of the Milesians. Demosthenes replied with severity to the demands of the Milesians, and contended that they were unworthy of assistance, nor was it the interest of the state to grant it. The matter was deferred to the following day. The ambassadors in the mean time came to Demosthenes, and with great earnestness intreated that he would not oppose them. He asked for money, and they gave him what he demanded. On the day following, when the business was again

—— "adeò in teneris consuescere multum est!" [z]

———————— "such appears
The force of habits gained in tender years." [a]

It is too late to examine the qualifications and manners of a *master*, when we have *sold* [b] ourselves to his service.

"Jus habet ille sui, palpo quem ducit hiantem
Cretata ambitio?" [c]

"Next of the tyrant train, to seize thee, waits
Ambition; and displays her gilded baits.
Enjoys he freedom who obeys her laws?
Who follows eager where she tempting draws?" [d]

debated, Demosthenes came into public with his neck and jaws wrapped up in woollen, complaining that he had a quinsy, and could not speak against the Milesians. On this, one of the people called out, that Demosthenes was troubled with the *silver-quinsy*." BELOE.

[z] Virg. Geor. II. 272.

[a] Warton.

[b] —— "the desire of esteem, riches, or power, makes men espouse the well-endowed opinions in fashion, and then seek arguments, either to make good their beauty, or varnish over and cover their deformity. Nothing being so beautiful to the eye as truth is to the mind; nothing so deformed and irreconcileable to the understanding as a lye."

LOCKE, Hum. Und. b. 4. c. 2. s. 20.

[c] Persius, Sat. V. 176.

[d] Owen.

I went up to *Cambridge*, at our *audit*, in November 1778. I had then some debate with *my old friend Milner* on the *theological* controversies of the time: he importuned me much to write my sentiments on the subject. Though a reluctant correspondent, I complied with his request; but was never honoured with the least notice of my letter:—as I accidentally, and contrary to my general custom, kept a copy, and it will serve to shew the state of my mind at that time, and the observations in it are, perhaps, not wholly unimportant, I will insert it below.[e]

[e] "Dear Milner, Liverpool, Nov. 13, 1778.

"I DID not fail to reflect very seriously upon the subject of our late conversation at Cambridge; and exceedingly regret that it should be so soon interrupted. After a sober and dispassionate appeal to the suggestions of my own heart, I cannot with sincerity profess that I appear to be '*working a deceitful work*,' or that I think myself an object of self-delusion. Docility of disposition, and undefiled conduct, not austerity of manners, is pure religion; and though every man living be as nothing 'in the sight of GOD and altogether vanity,' yet he may freely exert, without danger or offence, the power implanted in him to distinguish between good and evil. A disinterested and well disposed mind will hardly over-rate the faculties it possesses: to undervalue them, as some men do, is neither diffidence nor humility, but an injury to our character as rational intelligences, and amounts, in my apprehension, to nothing less than a pro-

Whilst I continued at *Liverpool*, I persevered in reading the *New* and *Old Testaments*, with all

fane accusation of the author of them. I conceive not of 'the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,' as a morose and peevish Being, who will harden, or even suffer to be in error, those that cleave unto him with sincerity of heart; but as a merciful and indulgent parent, who will lead his children, yet not without perpetual and painful exertions on their part, in discerning deliberate conviction from the inveterate prejudice of education, and in diligently searching the volume of his will, 'into all the truth.'

"That, as you remarked, it is a plausible and tempting office to set one's self up against established opinions, as a proof of superior discernment, is a malicious observation of *Hooker*, and as remote from truth as it is from charity. Indeed the misfortune of these general maxims is, that they are addressed to the fancy more than the understanding: and may be reversed and retaliated with equal propriety and advantage. But belief and disbelief, in religious matters, is of too much consequence, by far, with *me*, to be accommodated merely to the gratification attendant on singularity.

"Your position (if I properly understood you) that every appointment of Providence in this world is absolutely right, without any reference to futurity, is equally repugnant to reason and revelation. It annihilates the best *natural* argument for a future state, and supposes that wickedness in prosperity, and goodness in distress, will need no adjustment in the day of retribution. My mode of reasoning that occasioned it, about the punishment of children, might, possibly, be unsatisfactory enough: but I should be glad to know how that punishment is consistent with the innocency of their state, and the perfect atonement already made for sin by the blood of Christ.

possible attention and assiduity. My objections to the *creed*[f] of my forefathers were daily

"The *Divinity* I shall not touch upon now, being at present less qualified to ascertain the validity of my own opinion, than detect the fallacy and absurdity of that commonly received. It would be no difficult task, however, to shew that even your friend at *Leeds* has totally mistaken and perverted the most intelligible passages of Scripture, and, by a gratuitous kind of argumentation, has applied throughout numerous texts in confirmation of a pre-established notion, in a sense that ought not to have been supposed, but fairly proved. That the hypothesis of two natures seems to agree best with the words of Scripture, I do not deny; but maintain it to be directly adverse to the scope and tenor of the Sacred Writings; and to contain, notwithstanding the qualifications of so much ingenuity, impossibilities and contradictions. The clear and unequivocal deductions of reason, no revelation can invalidate or supersede. All the communications of *God* are perfectly consistent: he cannot contradict himself: with him is 'no variableness, neither tropical shadow.' In this instance too (for it is not a point of unessential speculation) I am persuaded that 'the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.'

"This I lay down as an incontrovertible truth,—that no man can acquire an adequate knowledge of the *phraseology* of the *New Testament*, and consequently of it's meaning, with-

[f] Among Mr. Wakefield's MSS. is the following memorandum:

"December, 1778.

"'Began to conclude from Scripture that Christ had no existence prior to his conception; and that the *spirit of God*, cording to the *Hebrew idiom*, means only *God*."

multiplying, and my determination was already made to quit the *church*, for some other line of

out an intimate acquaintance with the power and peculiarities of the *Hebrew* tongue. The language of the *New Testament* is *popular Greek*, conveyed throughout in the *Hebrew idiom*; and this, together with a desultory mode of reasoning, abounding in digressions and repetitions, contributes to make some parts of *St. Paul's* Epistles very difficult to understand. Many precepts delivered in them are evidently local, and occasional, and, as the circumstances to which they refer are unknown, their meaning must, of course, be very indeterminate. They never, I think, could be so intelligible, even to the people for whom they were designed, as those of *St. Peter* and *St. James*; but they all seem to have been carried by some of *Paul's* companions, who, no doubt, could well explain them. All scripture, you say, is given by inspiration: the difficulty still remains—to point out where the apostle speaks by his own spirit, and where by the spirit of *God*. I might answer, with justice, that this assertion refers to the γραμμαῖα, the *Old Testament*, mentioned in the preceding verse; but most willingly allow these epistles to be of equal inspiration with the rest of Scripture. Though considering time, place, persons, and peculiar circumstances, I am convinced that he ever expresses himself with the most perfect propriety; and though I never read those invaluable compositions without unspeakable delight, the nature of his argument, without recurring to his own insinuations to that effect, would sometimes oblige me to conclude, that he is only speaking 'after the manner of men.'

"You will readily perceive these to be the cursory observations of one who pretends to no very accurate, or extensive information on the subject. I am satisfied you will take no undue advantage of these concessions, and have, therefore, unfolded myself for my own instruction, with the undisguised

life, on the first opportunity. My attachment, however, to *theology* would never suffer me to think with tranquillity of transferring myself to any other profession; independently of additional objections, of a very serious nature, to such an alteration in my plan of life.

sentiments of a friend. 'The Lord give us understanding in all things!'

I am with great sincerity,

Your affectionate friend,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD."

Rev. Mr. Milner,
Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge.

CHAP. X.

Mr. Wakefield's Marriage — Vacation of his Fellowship — American and French War—Slave Trade.

1779.

On the twenty-third of March, 1779, I married the niece (the *brother's* daughter) of my rector, *Mr. Watson.* Her great grandfather and great grandmother were an instance of conjugal affection, that has never been exceeded, and of a mutual enjoyment of each other for a length of time, which, probably, the experience or memory of no reader will be able to parallel.

Their matrimonial connexion lasted *seventy-five* years; nor were they married so early in life, but that *five* years more might have been added to this period without any violation of usage, or propriety. They died nearly at the same time[g]—"*lovely in their lives, and in their*

g Johnson relates concerning the parents of Roger Ascham, that "they lived married sixty-seven years, and at last died together almost on the same hour of the same day."
Life of Ascham. Johnson's Works, XII. 308.

deaths scarcely *divided*;"—she at the age of *ninety-eight*, he at the age of *one hundred and seven* years; both in full possession of their faculties. He was out a hunting a short time before his death, and uncommonly vigorous to the last. In the hall of Mr. *Leigh*, of *Lyme*, in *Cheshire*, there is a portrait of him.

Of the same family was *John Hewit, D. D.* the beloved chaplain of the favourite daughter of that extraordinary personage, whose celebrity our poet has characterised with an unexampled felicity of expression:

" See Cromwell DAMN'D to everlasting fame." [h]

This gentleman [i] was beheaded in 1658 for his exertions in the *royal* cause, notwithstanding the most importunate intercessions of his mistress [k] with her father, who is said never to

[h] Essay on Man.—Pope seems to be indebted for the original thought to my *Lord Roscommon*, in his Essay on translated Verse, where he speaks of *Mævius:*

" That wretch, in spite of his forgotten rhymes,
Condemn'd to live to all succeeding times."

W.

[i] See Life of Barwick, 175; or Biog. Brit. 2d edit. I. 661. Art. *Barwick*. Note [O].

[k] " *Mrs. Claypole*, who was infected with monarchical prejudices, from her matrimonial connexions, in her last sick-

have denied any other favour to his darling child. My rector had a good painting of his ancestor, *Dr. Hewit*; and there is a print of him in *Clarendon*.

By marriage I vacated my *fellowship*; of which I immediately informed the master of our college.[1]

This matrimonial engagement was several weeks after greeted by the *Hyson Club*, conformably to the laws of our society, with the following billet:

"THE resident members of the *Hyson Club* present their compliments to Mr. and Mrs. Wakefield, and beg leave to congratulate them on the happy occasion of their late marriage.

EDWARD WARING,
WILLIAM PEARCE,
GEORGE PRETYMAN,
ISAAC MILNER,
GEO. MOUNSEY,
SAM. VINCE."

Cambridge, May 13, 1779.

ness exclaimed vehemently against Cromwell's crimes and cruelties; in particular for his putting her favourite, *Dr. Hewit*, to death, on whose behalf she had made importunate intercessions."

MACAULAY. Hist. of England, 8vo. V. 186. Note.

[1] From *Dr. Caryl's* letter, dated Cambr. 29 Mar. 1779, in answer to this communication, we quote the following testimony to the reputation with which Mr. Wakefield quitted

This *billet* was not so *immediately* subsequent to the transaction (which came at the time to their knowledge) as to fill up the measure of complimentary civility; and now excites in my memory a circumstance recorded by Suetonius.[m]

The *American* and *French* war had now been raging for some months, and *several hundred* prisoners of the latter nation had been brought into Liverpool by *privateers*. I frequently visited them in their confinement, and was much mortified and ashamed at their uniform complaints of hard usage, and a scanty allowance of unwholesome provision. What I occasionally observed in my visits, gave me but too much reason to believe the representations of this pleasing people, who maintained

college. "The regard I had for you was founded in the esteem I had for your father, and much improved by the opportunities I had of observing your own great merit."

[m] Tiber. 52.

When the Trojan ambassadors waited upon Tiberius with their condolences on the death of his son Drusus, somewhat out of date, he replied, with the utmost composure of countenance—"I beg, gentlemen! your acceptance in return of my hearty condolence on that melancholy event, the loss of your illustrious townsman Hector." W.

their national sprightliness and good-humour undamped even by captivity. I kept my suspicions secret; but wrote an anonymous letter to the *mayor*, stating my observations and sentiments on the subject.

I was happy to learn very soon, from the prisoners themselves, the good effects of my interference; and the *commissary*, the author of their wrongs, was presently superseded: whether in consequence of my detection of his iniquities, I could never learn; but when I met him in the street there was fire in his eye, and fury in his face.[n]

Towards the conclusion of one of my *sermons*, preacht at Liverpool, I was led by the proximity of the subject to condemn, in terms of the utmost asperity, and somewhat *hyper-tragical*, the horrid practice of aggravating the calamities of war by the rapine and injustice of *private* hostility.[o] This, in the grand mart of

[n] "Fraud in his eye, and famine in his face."
CHURCHILL.

[o] The insertion of the following observations on the horrid practice of *Privateering* will require no apology, coming from the pen of the venerable Dr. Franklin:

"It is for the interest of humanity in general, that the occasions of war and the inducements to it, ſhould be diminished. The practice of robbing merchants on the high seas, a remnant of the ancient piracy, though it may be accident-

privateering during that war, and of the *African slave-trade*, excited, of course, no small

ally beneficial to particular persons, is far from being profitable to all engaged in it, or to the nation that authorizes it. *Piraterie*, as the French call it, or privateering, is the universal bent of the English nation, at home and abroad, wherever settled. No less than *seven hundred* were, it is said, commissioned in the last (the American) war! These were fitted out by merchants, to prey upon other merchants, who had never done them any injury. Methinks it well behoves merchants to consider well of the justice of a war, before they voluntarily engage a gang of ruffians to attack their fellow-merchants of a neighbouring nation, to plunder them of their property, and perhaps ruin them and their families if they yield to it; or to wound, maim, and murder them, if they endeavour to defend it. Yet these things are done by *Christian* merchants, whether a war be just or unjust; and it can hardly be just on both sides. They are done by English and American merchants, who, nevertheless, complain of private theft, and hang by dozens the thieves they have taught by their own example.

"It is high time, for the sake of humanity, to put a stop to this enormity. The United States of America, though better situated than any European nation to make profit by privateering (most of the trade of Europe with the West Indies passing before their doors) are, as far as in them lies, endeavouring to abolish the practice, by offering, in all their treaties with other powers, an article, engaging solemnly, that, in case of future war, no privateer shall be commissioned on either side; and that unarmed merchant ships, on both sides, shall pursue their voyages unmolested. This will be a happy improvement of the law of nations. The humane and just cannot but wish general success to the proposition."

FRANKLIN's Works, 12mo. 1793. II. 152—178.

degree of resentment against the author of such outrageous doctrine. I was acquainted, at that time, with no other effect of my interference besides malignity against myself; but learnt some years afterwards, that the nerves of one lady were so agitated by the *thunder* of my lecture, as to allow herself and husband no rest till he had sold his share in a privateer.

The remark of *Pomfret*, though not poetical, is generally true; and I profess to rank among the number of those, who are firmly persuaded of the very superior loveliness of disposition and sensibility of heart in the weaker sex.

> " For there's that softness in a female mind,
> Which in a man's we cannot hope to find."

The principal cause of the multitude of *privateers* from Liverpool, during the French and American war, was the impediment which this event had put in the way of the *African slave-trade*, whose *head-quarters*, as I have observed, are fixed at this place.

In addition to the other evidences of the cruelty attendant on this execrable traffic, which nothing can resist, as *Mr. Fox*, with an energy becoming the greatness and sensibility

of his soul, nobly expresst it, but "an impenetrable heart, or an inaccessible understanding;" I will produce two facts, one of which, indeed, is somewhere on record, but not generally known, and for the other I shall give such authority, as will leave nothing to be disputed but my own veracity; of which every one may judge as he pleases.

Since the conclusion of the *American* war, it came out in evidence on a trial in *Westminster-Hall*, that a *Slave-Ship*, laden with her commodity, had been so long detained on the passage, as to be reduced to a short allowance of water and provisions. Their distress was every day increasing. The captain had an opportunity of saving his crew and cargo by taking refuge in a *French* island; but then the hope of his traffic was gone. In short, he continued on the seas so long, as to be reduced to great necessity indeed: and the mode of alleviation adopted by this greedy savage was, to bring the blacks one by one out of their dungeon up to the deck, and throw them overboard, to the number of *one hundred* and *thirty*.[p] The account is, I think, in one of the

[p] "In a late trial at Guildhall it appeared, that a ship freighted with slaves, being reduced to a great scarcity of water,

"Annual Registers." I relate from memory, but my statement I am persuaded is not far from the truth, even to exactness.

Another *Liverpool* captain, in a large company at *Buxton*, related what two particular friends of mine have also heard him relate. A *female slave* on her voyage fretted herself to a very great degree, on account of an infant-child, whom she had brought with her. "Apprehensive for her health, I snatcht the child," said this monster, glorying in his unparalleled brutality; "I snatcht the child from her arms, knockt its head against the side of the ship, and threw it into the sea." I hope my memory is exact even to the minutest circumstances of this story, which almost exceeds belief: as to the capital fact, that is most certain.

Now I should be glad to know upon what grounds the *House of Commons* could vindicate

one hundred and thirty-three Negroes were hand-cuffed and thrown into the sea.!"

Bishop PORTEUS's Sermon, Feb. 23, 1783, on "The Civilization, &c. of the Negro Slaves." Sermons, I. 411. ed. 8th. Note.

There can be no doubt that the Bishop and Mr. Wakefield allude to the same fact, notwithstanding the trifling variation as to the place of the trial, which is very obviously accounted for by Mr. Wakefield's relating the circumstance from memory.

their conduct, in refusing to listen to a requisition from all denominations and descriptions of people, for the abolition of this traffic—a requisition so general and unanimous as, I suppose, has seldom been displayed on any other occasion. I would put the question especially to those *Members of Parliament*, who had grounded their most specious pretences of opposition to the *Coalition-Ministry* (in a tone of whining supplication) upon a determination "to listen in all cases to the instructions of their constituents." What language will undertake to stigmatize, with suitable severity, such inconsistent conduct?

As for *Mr. Wilberforce*, his exertions in this cause, have, I dare say, been very laudable; but who will arrogate merit from opposing the *Slave-Trade?* It may be vicious in the extreme to defend this traffic; it is scarcely a subject of praise to disapprove it. I must, however, beg leave to withhold my general commendations from a man, who, with unblushing uniformity, could support our *late minister*[q] in every measure of his wretched administration. Poor deluded mortal! to make so much noise about slaves, while, by his votes in parliament, he could sanction such measures

[q] Mr. Pitt.

as *might* have exterminated half the youth of Europe by the sword.

And it is most wonderful to me, how any man, endowed with the smallest portion of discernment, and capable of the feeblest exertions of the reasoning faculty, can allow *Mr. Pitt* the merit of *sincerity* on this subject. I know many will be shocked at the uncharitableness of this insinuation: but before these good admirers of the late minister allow scope to their indignation, I must entreat them, I must entreat *Mr. Pitt* himself, to answer *one plain* question. But *it is answered*, by facts of indubitable evidence, and convincing beyond his oath, or the united oaths of all the interested and prejudiced votaries of this gentleman under heaven:

Mr. Pitt! had you conceived the abolition of the Slave-Trade necessary to the preservation of your power, and to the maintenance of your place, *could not you have carried that measure?* Answer me.

"Where be your vaunts now? Quite chop-fallen."[r]

Whilst I was curate at *St. Peter's*, the thunder of the church was launched in a sanguinary prayer against the *Americans*. I read this

[r] Blair's Grave.

prayer in it's order, but with the omission of all those unchristian words and damnatory clauses which constituted the very life and soul of the composition, and the essence of edification, to the generality of my hearers.

I perceived in an instant among those mighty men the *Churchwardens*, no small bustle at these retrenchments. The shrug of the shoulder, the elevation of the hand, the lowering visage, the uplifted eye, the whisper in the ear, during the service, were indubitable signs of the violence of that storm which was going to burst upon my devoted head in the vestry.

"We shall inform the *Bishop*, Sir, of this conduct." But these important officers of the church were soon convinced that "they had got," in *Queen Bess's* homely phrase, "the wrong sow by the ear." "Why, gentlemen!" says I, "not one pin do I care for all that you can say or do: and when you write to *my Lord the Bishop*, present my most humble duty to his lordship, and tell him, that I care as little for his resentment as for yours."—I verily believe no letter on the subject ever reached the bishop to this day.

As my sermons were usually composed in the week preceding the Sunday on which I preacht them (for I never borrowed a line from any man whatever); by the assistance of a

tolerably tenacious memory, I had seldom occasion to look upon the book. This method is attended with two excellent effects, without which preaching can scarcely be approved by any congregation. Your voice is not lost in the pulpit, but diffuses itself through the church; and the audience are impressed with a good opinion of your abilities, which is highly serviceable in securing attention and adding authority to your instructions.'

I have been told that when my friend *Dr.*

' It was a subject of just regret, to all who had known Mr. Wakefield in earlier life, that he so soon relinquished the office of a public preacher; in the execution of which his talents and qualifications had fitted him peculiarly to excel. For the following short character of his mode of preaching we are indebted to a friend, who was also nearly connected with the subject of this note, and well able to form a correct judgment.

" His manner of performing the public services of the Church, was not only altogether exempt from every irreverence, both of carelessness and affectation, but likewise possessed a seriousness that indicated his impression of the great moment to mankind of every thing relating to religion, and engaged universal approbation. His delivery of his discourses, in particular, was with a voice distinctly audible, as well as mild and conciliating, and an address animated and impressive; all which, in concurrence with the solemnity and simplicity blended in his aspect, rivetted, in an uncommon degree, the attention of his hearers, and failed not uniformly to obtain their warmest encomium."

Bennet, the *Bishop of Cloyne*, (who is gifted with a very fluent eloquence) first entered on a curacy near Cambridge, the town was overrun with methodists. His discernment readily pointed out the principal cause of the emptiness of the church, whilst the neighbouring barn teemed with *catechumens:* namely, the *humdrum* method of fixing the eye immoveably upon the book; where nothing distinguishes the exhibitioner from a statue of wood, or stone, but the droning whine and the mumbling lip. He adopted instantly the *extemporaneous* mode of preaching, and soon transferred the swarm into his own hive.

Had I continued my ministrations in the church, I should have pursued the same method, having made the experiment, in part, with success, by delivering two discourses on the "Lord's Prayer," from a few lines containing only introductory words of sentences. It was my intention also, alternately to *expound the Scriptures*, instead of a *Sermon:* a most edifying and essential exercise;[t] but scarcely

[t] "Sometimes, instead of a set discourse, edify your congregation with an exposition of some portion of the Scriptures; illustrate one of our Saviour's Parables, or a part of his Sermon on the Mount. Independent of the direct and immediate advantage of this method, your audience will be induced to read

practised (by any denomination of Christians, with which I am acquainted) with a zeal and frequency commensurate to it's importance.

As I never intended to proceed in my *degrees* at Cambridge, on account of the requisite *subscription*, and could therefore propose to myself no end from continuing my connection with the *college*, I desired my name to be taken from the boards. About the same time, I had exchanged my laborious and unprofitable curacy of *St. Peter's* for that of *St. Paul's*, also in Liverpool, which had less of the drudgery of the profession, and left me more leisure for my studies.

It now became necessary for me to attempt some plan of life more lucrative than a curacy; especially too as I had resolved to relinquish my station in the *church* as soon as possible. Accordingly, I publisht some proposals for opening a *Day-school* in *Liverpool*; but the good citizens, measuring my qualifications by the standard of the *pedagogical* tribe already stationed among them, and esteeming me, on

their Bibles more in private, when they are thus enabled to read them with understanding, and to *work out their own Salvation*. You cannot propose to yourself a more noble end than this, or one that will give greater effect to your ministrations."

Directions for the Student in Theology. XI.

that account, unreasonable in my terms, seemed indisposed to give me the least portion of encouragement.

By a new adventure, however, in my eventful history (which shall be soon related in it's chronological order), I was delivered from the mortification of a disappointment which a longer trial of my scheme would have occasioned.

I once took the pains to calculate all the profits of my *clerical warfare*, issuing from *christenings*, *burials*, and *weddings*, without number, for three months, whilst I was curate at St. Peter's, and from presents, allowances of wine, &c. in three curacies, all of them together occupying nearly *twelve months*; and the amount was £43. 16*s*. 2*d* ½.

Whilst I officiated at *St. Paul's* for one of the ministers, a fellow of *Brazen-nose* [a] *College*,

[a] The mention of *Brazen-nose* College excites in my mind the recollection of a pleasant adventure that happened during my residence in Liverpool. A large company was dining at the Golden Lion, one of which was a *Welch curate*, with a very insignificant appearance, meanly dressed, and of a small meagre person. Near him sat a *wag* of a *gigantic* size, and thundering accent, remarkable for an enormous nose on his impudent face. The little parson was immediately fixed upon as a good subject for the raillery of this important gentleman; who set himself accordingly to *roast the doctor* for the enter-

in *Oxford*, who was generally absent, his colleague died, and it was kindly hinted to me by one of the principal inhabitants of the place, that the *corporation*, who have the disposal of all the preferments in the town, would nominate me his successor upon proper application to their body. But I had determined upon *another* course; and consequently forbore any exertions for the attainment of an object, now become unpalatable to my feelings.

An event of a most singular complexion occurred before I quitted Liverpool; which, on account of the important conclusion to be deduced from it (very reasonably in my opinion), I shall now circumstantially record.

I have mentioned that one of the ministers of *St. Paul's* died during my connexion with

tainment of the guests. "I presume, doctor! you have had a *college education?*" "Yes, Sir!" "You look as if you had." "You too, Sir! no doubt have enjoyed the advantages of academical instruction." "Certainly, Sir! I have." "You are a member, I make no question, of *Brazen-nose* College." "You scoundrel! what do you mean by that?"—The disputants came to blows: and our *ecclesiastic pugilist*, to the amazement of the spectators, proved such a *David* to this *Goliah*, as made him speedily repent of his temerity and importance in provoking one, who *could thump a cushion*, or *pummel an antagonist*, with equal vigour and dexterity.

W.

that church. This gentleman had been brought up among the dissenters, I believe, of the *Presbyterian* denomination: he was at least their minister for some years in *Liverpool*, at *Ben's-Garden Chapel*. During his continuance with this congregation, he had the character of an excellent preacher, and was very popular among them. He afterwards *conformed*.

Whilst I was at St. Paul's, his character was very low indeed as a *preacher*; nor did he seem in much higher estimation as a *man*. My rector had frequently intimated his suspicions of the *honesty* of his colleague; and signified to me his conviction that his reverend brother *purloined the sacrament-money*. His proof of this was, that more money was counted by the churchwardens from the collection in the *galleries only*, than what the sum total from the *whole church* was afterwards found to equal.

No man of ordinary candour would hastily give credit to such a dreadful accusation of a brother; and my disposition to suspense of judgment was considerably strengthened by the *cordial antipathy* which these two teachers and professors of the *evangelical* system of love and peace, were known to have imbibed for the persons of each other. My rector as an *Oxonian* was staunch to the principles of his

nurse, both in politics and religion; and therefore an enemy to *dissenters*, and every thing relating to them.

The next *sacrament Sunday* was agreed upon between us for the season of detection: but several elapsed before illness would suffer the supposed culprit to attend. The day, however, came at last, and *these eyes were witnesses* to the theft of our sacrilegious *grey-beard*. We secretly determined to charge him with the offence; but what other measures we had intended to pursue, I cannot now recal to memory. Death intercepted those intentions, whatever they might be. He never entered the church after that day: he sickened immediately, and died. I went to see the poor forsaken unhappy man, in his fatal illness, from pure commiseration of his condition; but nothing beyond customary civility past between us.

Now my inference from this circumstance is as follows: but observe, reader! I do not advance it as an *universal* truth, though as one settled in my mind; of which, however, every person must take the liberty of judging as he pleases.

I say then, " it is scarcely possible, in my opinion, that any man who has been educated

in the *true principles of dissent* from the *establishment*, can afterwards conform with a good conscience." By the *true principles of dissent*, I understand *an abjuration of all human authority in propounding and enforcing articles of faith, collected by men as the doctrines of scripture*, in their own terms and according to their own interpretation; because a compliance with such an authority is a literal abjuration of the supremacy of *Christ* in his own kingdom, against the most explicit commands of *Christ* himself. [x]

The foundation on which sensible non-conformists build their opposition, is that which I have laid; and I must own, a very strong presumption would be raised in my mind to the disadvantage of the moral character of an apostate from this principle. In spite of every propensity to a charitable judgment, I could not but regard him, in the beautifully allusive language of *Lord Bacon*, "as offering to the author of truth the unclean sacrifice of a lie." The melancholy instance just related is a very pertinent corroboration of my ideas.

To confirm the above sentiment, which with me is almost become an axiom, I may here

[x] Matt. xxiii. 8, 10.

mention *Mr. Badcock*,[7] so well known to the literary world by the share he had in the composition of *Dr. White's Bampton Lectures*. This gentleman, who had been educated a dissenting minister, before he would sacrifice his consistency to delusive hopes of ecclesiastical preferment, had many painful struggles with his old principles, which he expresses in the following parody of the well-known soliloquy in Hamlet:

" Conform, *or not* conform? *That is the question,*
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The stings and arrows of outrageous bigots,
Or to take refuge 'midst *a sea of* curses,
And by subscribing, *end them? To* preach—in form canonical—
No more—and by a gown *to say we end*
The heart-ache, and the thousand scoffs or wants
The poor cloak'd teacher's *heir to*:—To preach—to speak in church—
To speak in church?—*Perchance* to weep at home—
Aye, there's the rub;
For by conforming thus, what tears may fall,
When we have shuffled off the *coil* of conscience,
Must give us pause. There's the respect
That makes the meeting-house *of so long* standing.
For who would bear the scorns of upstart priests,
Our people's frowns, complaints, and short subscriptions,

[7] Who died in 1788.

The pangs of thankless labours, paid by yawning,
Their *insolence* to catechise our faith, *and all the spurns*
That patient teachers *from the unworthy take,*
When he himself might his quietus find
Upon a benefice? *Who would bear* neglect,
Or groan in want, whilst some men sweat with feasting,
But that the dread of something worse than hunger
(That sting of conscience whose malignity
No benefice can sooth) *puzzles the will,*
And makes us rather bear those ills we have,
Than fly to church, by flying from our peace?
Thus conscience keeps us Presbyterians still;
And thus the native hue of resolution is still kept up—
By every serious thought, and preachers too,
Who soon might be promoted, *by this regard*
From bishops *turn away, and lose* the name
Of CLERGY."

At *Liverpool* was a non-conformist preacher of uncommon celebrity for his oratorical vociferation, and attended by a numerous congregation, who amply provided for him. He was inveighing loudly one day, in the presence of my *rector*, against the magistrates, for suffering an itinerant brother to perform his ministerial functions in the open air, on account of the incommoding crowds about him. "Now are you not a pretty fellow," said *Maddock*, "to enjoy the benefit of toleration in your own way, and not allow this poor traveller the same indulgence with yourself?"

" Obstupuit steteruntque comæ, et vox faucibus hæsit." [2]

This *consistent dissenter* was preaching a sermon for the *infirmary;* and, among other arguments to effect his purpose, is said to have pleasantly observed, that " no man, such was the importance and excellence of the institution! could possibly be prevented from bestowing liberally according to his ability, but by some *distress of circumstances.* Whoever, therefore," he added, " shrinks from his duty on this occasion, must be inevitably concluded *to be in debt.*" The consequence was a plentiful contribution.

I have heard of another dissenting minister, who employed, in a similar case, an argument equally humourous and successful. " Methinks," says this *arch divine;* " methinks I hear some of you excuse yourselves by alleging the great sums you intend to *bequeath* to these charitable institutions at your death. I am glad to hear it. Commendable indeed it is to be charitable at any time. But in the mean while the poor must not starve in *expectation* of your liberality; and we, the friends

[2] Æn. II. 774.

" Fear rais'd his hair, and horror chain'd his tongue."

PITT.

and patrons of the poor, shall think ourselves in duty bound to offer up our most devout supplications to the Father of Mercies, that he would be pleased, as soon as possible, to *take you to himself for their benefit.*" The audience were terrified into charity; and the effect was answerable to the most sanguine wishes of the preacher.

CHAP. XI.

Removal to Warrington—Account of the Academy at that Place—Tutors of the Institution.

1779.

ABOUT this time the trustees of the *Academy* at *Warrington*, in *Lancashire*, had come to a resolution of appointing a distinct tutor for the *classical* department, and were inclined to make choice of a clergyman of the *establishment*.

Mr. Gore, a worthy bookseller in *Liverpool*, who had conceived an opinion of my liberality of sentiment from the books, for which I had occasionally enquired at his shop, mentioned this circumstance to his friend, the *Rev. Mr. Godwin*, a dissenting clergyman in the neighbourhood, and one of the trustees: a man not to be named by me without that tribute of respect, which is due indeed from *all*, to amiable manners, strict integrity, masculine sense, simplicity, benevolence, and hospitality.

Dr. Brandreth, a physician of great and deserved estimation in *Liverpool*, called upon me, to mention their proposals, at the request

of *Mr. Godwin*; and in consequence of this application, I went to that gentleman to converse with him upon the subject. At this interview, he informed me more particularly of the intention of the trustees, and their wish to engage a *Church of England* clergyman. I immediately replied, that I was sorry for this information, as I had determined to leave the church myself, and was therefore apprehensive that I should not sufficiently coincide with the views of the trustees on this occasion.

Before our departure, however, (for I was accompanied by *Dr. Brandreth*) this difficulty seemed to disappear; and it was thought expedient (with perfect propriety) that I should procure some testimonials of my character and competency for such an employment.

I had mentioned *Dr. John Jebb* as one who knew me well, and could give such an account of me, as, I doubted not, would be perfectly satisfactory to the trustees.

I wrote to *Cambridge* also for a *college-testimonial*, and one was sent: but finding it couched in a style of formal insipidity, and such as the master and fellows would have granted *officially* to many whom they had much less reason to esteem than me, without any *appropriate* recommendation, I turned it over, without delay, to the discipline of that worthy re-

ceiver of all literary rubbish, the *limping deity* of *Lemnos.*

A more specific testimony would not have contributed materially to the furtherance of my suit. The character given of me by *Dr. Jebb*, through the medium of *Dr. Priestley*, had so entirely secured the approbation of the trustees, as at once to cut off every hope of another candidate, though powerfully supported, and long connected with the institution and its patrons.

I was not made acquainted, for some time, with the friendly interference of *Dr. Jebb* in this business; and, after I was acquainted with it, delayed my acknowledgments to him much longer than was consistent with civility, and a proper sense of his kindness. I shall insert the doctor's reply to my letter.

" Dear Sir,

" I RECEIVED your obliging favour; and am sorry you gave yourself a moment's disquietude upon the subject you mention. In acting as I did, I paid that tribute to your ability and your worth, which I was entitled to do from my acquaintance with you, and the opinion *Mr. Tyrwhitt* had formed of you; and I should have therefore been blameable not to have acted as I did. I rejoice that the situation is such as you approve. That it is one wherein you can be useful to mankind is certain; and that you really will be useful is no less sure.

"I shall always hear of you with pleasure, and be glad to hear from you whenever you shall do me that favour.

I am, with great esteem,
Your's sincerely,

Craven Street,
12th Aug. 1780.

JOHN JEBB."

"Critical knowledge applied to the *Greek Testament* is much wanted. I have no doubt but you will think it an object worthy your attention." [a]

I removed to *Warrington* in *August*, 1779, previous to the annual commencement of our *Session* at the academy in *September*.

The institution had then existed, I think, *two and twenty* years; and survived my arrival *four* years. The intention of it was, to provide a course of liberal education for the sons of *dissenters*, and particularly for *dissenting ministers*. During it's continuance many very respectable characters, both laity and clergy, had been formed by it's discipline; "some are fallen asleep," and some are dignifying and improving society at this day. Also many members of the *establishment* had preferred an education *there*, to the restrictions on opinion, and the relaxation of discipline in the *Univer-*

[a] For another letter from Dr. Jebb to Mr. Wakefield about this time, see Appendix (A).

sities; one third, at least, of the students, in my time, were of that description.

The academy was supported by annual subscriptions, and the sums paid by the students for their education. I pronounced the speedy downfall of this establishment, soon after my arrival there: and as I am not ambitious of inspiring the reader with an elevated idea of my *prognostic* powers upon the constitution of this *patient*, I will point out the very simple and obvious *symptoms*, by which this opinion was suggested.

No fund, or no *adequate* fund, had been provided for the maintenance of the tutors, and the income from the students was not commensurate to the expences of the academy. Who then could not foresee, that upon any failure of students, such as must often happen from the mere unaccountable vicissitudes of things, independently of the good conduct and credit of an institution; or upon the death, sickness, or declining zeal of subscribers, always most active in the *infancy* of a scheme; who, I say, could not foresee, that, in this case, the tutors must starve, or the seminary fall? Besides, the students, in general, staid with us so short a time, that a succession was required, beyond what the families of liberal

dissenters were likely to supply to this institution, for a continuance.

As I shall have occasion to speak more minutely upon the academical institutions of the *dissenters*, on occasion of a *second* connexion of the same kind, some years after, I shall here only state in a few words the causes which precipitated the downfall of *Warrington* Academy. *These* were, in short, the want of an established fund, secure from fortune and caprice; the incapacity of preserving proper discipline from the untowardness of the situation, and the injudicious structure of the buildings; an enormous expence inconsiderately incurred, at a most unhappy juncture, in improving them; an uncommon failure of students for one year; and the luke-warmness of some of the trustees.

And here, before I proceed to give an account of my associates in office, my duty urges me to discharge a debt of justice to the *trustees*, whose behaviour to me was liberal and respectful on all occasions, worthy of gentlemen and dissenters!

To one of them, *Samuel Shore, Esq.* gratitude compels me to break through decorum in thus *publicly* acknowledging a peculiar obligation, in consequence of an ingenuous informa-

tion respecting the literary proficiency of one of his sons: a proof of genuine good sense and true magnanimity, which few parents indeed, as I have found by experience, are capable of giving.

The invitation also of the superintendants of this institution was conducted in an honourable manner: I shall in this place insert the letter of the *President, Sir Henry Hoghton.*

" Warrington Academy,
" Rev. Sir, Thursday, July 1, 1779.—1 o'clock.

" The Trustees of the Warrington Academy, at their general annual meeting held this day, have unanimously agreed to request your acceptance of the office of Classical Tutor in the Academy, on the terms proposed to you by Dr. Enfield: and they doubt not that your connexion with this seminary will be as agreeable to you, as it will be respectable to them.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

H. Hoghton, President."

Our *Divinity* tutor, Dr. Aikin, was a gentleman whose endowments, as a man and as a scholar, according to my sincere judgment of him, it is not easy to exaggerate by panegyric.

In his life he was rigorously virtuous, and,

when I knew him, under a self-government, as perfect as a participation of human weaknesses can well allow. He has acknowledged to me his irascible propensities in early life, and the difficulties which he had encountered in this discipline of his temper. Religion had brought every wayward idea and irregular passion into subjection to the laws of *reason*, and had erected her *trophy* in the *citadel* of his mind.

Yet I must candidly acknowledge that the high esteem and even veneration, in which I held this gentleman, received some abatement several years after his decease, on hearing from a friend at Nottingham, of unquestionable veracity, who had formerly been his scholar at Kibworth, in Leicestershire, some mortifying instances of severity in the castigation of his pupils. And should an historian faithful to his trust [b] suppress the relation of this blemish, compensated by such various and exalted excellencies?

——————————— "velut si
Egregio inspersos reprêndas corpore nævos." [c]

"Like a fair face when spotted with a mole." [d]

[b] Nequid veri non audeat. CICERO de Orat II. 15. W.

[c] Horace, Sat. I. 6. 67.

[d] Francis.

As *Dr. Aikin's* whole conduct was strictly moral, so the influences of religion upon his heart were permanent and awful. He was benevolent and candid in all his judgments on the character of others; of great hospitality, as I myself experienced; quick to discern and ready to acknowledge true merit, wherever it resided; not tenacious of his own opinions, but patiently attentive, beyond almost any man I ever knew, to the reasonings of an opponent; perfectly open to conviction; of an affability, softened by a modest opinion of himself, that endeared him to all; and a politeness of demeanour seldom found even in an elevated station.

His intellectual attainments were of a very superior quality indeed. His acquaintance with all the *evidences* of *revelation*, with *morals*, *politics*, and *metaphysics*, was most accurate and extensive. Every path of polite literature had been traversed by him, and traversed with success. He understood the *Hebrew* and *French* languages to perfection: and had an intimacy with the best authors of *Greece* and *Rome*, superior to what I have ever known in any *dissenting* minister from my own experience. His taste for composition was correct and elegant: and his repetition of beautiful passages (though

accompanied with a theatrical pomp and stateliness), highly animated, and expressive of sensibility.

At an early period of his life he was in the capacity of a *French* clerk in some mercantile house in London; where he acquired his extraordinary facility in the *French* tongue. Growing weary of a condition but ill-suited to his disposition, and unworthy of his genius, he became a pupil, and soon after an assistant tutor, in *Dr. Doddridge's Academy*, at *Northampton*; and, about the year 1730, accompanied that gentleman to the superintendant of the *Ecclesiastical Court*, at the time when a prosecution against the doctor for keeping an *academy*, as a *dissenter*, was meditating by some *high-church bigots* of those days: with whose *merciful* intentions GEORGE II. interfered, by declaring, that no such proceeding should be permitted in his reign.[e]

The public is in possession of no literary

[e] "Agreeably to the noble and generous maxim he had laid down, that, during his reign, there should be no persecution *for conscience-sake*," observes *Orton*, at the close of his account of this scandalous transaction.

See his Memoirs of Doddridge, 1766, p. 250—252.
Biog. Brit. 2d edit. V. 306. Art. *Doddridge*.

production from *Dr. Aikin*,[f] to the best of my knowledge, but a note in his son's "Biographical Memoirs of Medicine;" a work that wants nothing but it's continuation.

He entertained one opinion of great singularity, nor compatible, I think, with the general sobriety of his judgment, and the solidity of his understanding, yet common to some other worthy men;[g] viz. that sincere and zealous preachers of the *Gospel* among unenlightened nations, would be favoured with the *gift of tongues* and other *miraculous powers*, which attended *the first Teachers of Christianity.*

[f] Dr. Aikin was the author also of a Latin preface to the selections from Pliny, published by his son, and of some occasional articles in the Monthly Review.

[g] Of this opinion was GROTIUS, concerning whom Dr. MIDDLETON has these remarks:

"He took the conversion of the Heathens to be an occasion so worthy of the divine interposition, as not to doubt, he says, but, that if any person were employed in it at this day, in a manner agreeable to the will of our Lord, he would find himself endued with a power of working miracles! From which declaration of so learned and judicious a critic, we may observe, how fallacious the judgment, even of the wisest, will ever be found, when deserting the path of nature and experience, and giving the reins to fancy and conjecture, they attempt to illustrate the secret councils of Providence."

MIDDLETON on *Grotius in Marc.* xvi. 17.—Preface to "Free Enquiry," &c. *Works, 4to.* I. xv.

This incomparable person died December 14, 1780, aged 67,[h] leaving behind him two children worthy of such a father—*Mrs. Barbauld* and *Dr. John Aikin*—the undoubted heirs of his talents and his virtues:

——— " Primo avulso non deficit *Alter*
Aureus, et *simili* frondescit virga *metallo*."[i]

" *One* pluck'd away, a *second* branch you see
Shoot forth in gold, and glitter through the tree."[k]

[h] The following Epitaph in the Meeting-House at Warrington, was written by Mr. Wakefield:

Memoriæ S.
Reverendi Viri JOANNIS AIKIN, D.D.
In Academiâ Warringtonianâ
Primò Literarum humaniorum,
Deinde, Theologiæ,
Per Annos viginti tres,
Professoris;
Judicio imprimis limato, candido, subtili;
Liberalium penitiorumque Doctrinarum disciplinâ
Instructissimi:
Comis, benevolus, pius,
Et Hominis et Christiani Munera
Cumulatissime explevit:
Obiit die 14to. Decembris,
Anno Salutis 1780, Ætatis 67.
Academiæ Curatores,
Honoris ergò
Ponendum statuerunt.

[i] Æneid. VI. 143. [k] Pitt.

The fine genius and noble sentiments of those distinguished characters have been ascertained by too many monuments of literature to require, in their commendation, the feeble efforts of my pen.

The *philosophical* department, and that of the *belles-lettres*, were filled by my most valued and respected friend the late *Dr. William Enfield*, abundantly known to the *public*, as an industrious, elegant, and instructive writer; and to his *acquaintance* as the most amiable of men. No commendations can exceed the merit of his unremitting, and, in many instances, disinterested assiduity, in the discharge of his duties, as a tutor and director of this academy, sometimes even to his own loss.

His conscientious and useful labours never received that reward, either of pecuniary compensation or honourable and respectful acknowledgment, to which they were entitled: and my friend, for *twelve years* of unceasing application and perpetual anxiety, endured with cheerfulness and contentment, had but little consolation beyond the consciousness of desert, which defies alike the tyranny of fortune and the rage of malice.

So sincere and uninterrupted was our mutual respect[1] and harmony, that the beautiful

[1] I had an opportunity, which does not fall to the lot of

lines of Virgil were not applied to the faithful warriors with more strict propriety, than their purport was exemplified in our friendly union, through the whole period of this connexion.

" His amor unus erat, pariterque in bella ruebant;
Tum quoque communi portam statione tenebant." [m]

One was their care, and their delight was one,
One common hazard in the field they shar'd. [n]

Dr. Enfield died *November* 3, 1797, in the *fifty-seventh* year of his age. Three volumes of his *sermons* have been since published, to

every man, of knowing what this excellent person thought of myself, when he had no temptation to disguise his feelings. The death of a *Clergyman* of the name of *Wakefield* was announced in the *Nottingham* paper. *Dr. Enfield* wrote to our colleague, *Dr. Clayton*, soon after; and the following is an extract from his letter:

" Dear Sir, Thorpe, near Norwich, Jan. 5, 1786.

" A LETTER from my son informs me of the death of our much esteemed colleague and friend, Mr. Wakefield, but gives me no particulars relating to it. I was much affected by the news, and feel sincere regret at the loss of a man, with whom I was so nearly connected, in whose society I have passed so many agreeable hours, and whose abilities, learning, and integrity entitled him to so high a degree of esteem."

W.

[m] Æn. IX. v. 182. [n] Dryden.

which *Dr. Aikin* prefixed a short memoir of his friend.

When he engaged in the *mathematical* and *philosophical* departments at *Warrington* he appears to have mistaken his talents, as many good men have done before him; and, indeed, this mistake of his judgment he afterwards acknowledged to me, with a magnanimity more honourable to his character than all superiority of intellectual accomplishments.

Dr. Aikin's misapprehension * upon this subject must be attributed, in some measure, to his warmth of friendship for so meritorious a colleague. For where that writer errs (and when will mortality be perfect) a cause must be investigated in the innocent fallibilities of

* It is presumed that the passage to which Mr. Wakefield refers is the following:

"On a vacancy in the mathematical department of the academy, it was found impracticable to give adequate encouragement from the fund it possessed to a separate tutor in that branch. Dr. Enfield was, therefore, strongly urged to undertake it; and by the hard study of one vacation he qualified himself to set out with a new class, which he instructed with great clearness and precision; himself advancing in the science in proportion to the demand, till he became a very excellent teacher in all the parts which were requisite in the academical course."

AIKIN's Biographical Account, p. xii.

humanity, and not in the censurable deficiencies of the heart.

Dr. Clayton (afterwards of *Nottingham*) succeeded, on the death of *Dr. Aikin*, to the tutorship of *Divinity*. He was for some years minister at the *Octagon* in *Liverpool* (where a liturgy was used), and the author of *two sermons*; one occasioned by the dissolution of that society, and the other on *prayer*, preached at a meeting of dissenting ministers: both of them excellent compositions.

This gentleman was my very particular friend, and I might here indulge those encomiums of his intellect and heart, which even envy would not attribute to the undiscerning partiality of affection. [P]

The celebrated *Dr. Taylor* of *Norwich* was the predecessor of *Dr. Aikin*, at the first opening of the academy; but died in a year or two, I think, after his appointment.

The reader, who is acquainted with the writings of this very learned, liberal, and rational divine, cannot fail to be impressed with sentiments highly favourable to the gentleness and forbearance of their author: for even the meekness of *Christianity* itself is exhibited in

[P] Dr. Clayton died a few years since.

his *prefaces* and *occasional addresses* to the reader.

But he was, in reality, a very peevish and angry disputant in conversation, and dictatorial even to intolerance. So imperfect a judgment may be formed of the mildness or asperity of any author from the correspondent quality of his writings!

This institution had also the honour of *Dr. Priestley's* abilities in it's service for several years: a man on whom I shall not now lavish those praises, which confer more honour on the giver than the receiver of them.

The last of this laudable fraternity whom I shall mention, but not the "least in love," is the *Rev. George Walker*, a *Fellow of the Royal Society*, and for many years dissenting minister at *Nottingham*.

This gentleman, take him for all in all, possesses the greatest variety of knowledge, with the most masculine understanding, of any man I ever knew. He is in particular a *mathematician* of singular accomplishment. His "Treatise on the Sphere," long since published, and one upon the "Conic Sections," are the vouchers of my assertion.

His two volumes "of Sermons" are pregnant with the celestial fire of genius, and the

vigour of noble sentiments. His "Appeal to the People of England"[q] upon the subject of the *Test Laws* would not be much honoured by my testimony in it's favour, as the best pamphlet published on that occasion, were not this judgment coincident with the decision of the *honourable Charles James Fox*, who declared to a friend of mine the same opinion of it's excellence: an approbation which the author of that appeal will know how to value.

But these qualifications, great and estimable as they are, constitute but a mean portion of his praise. Art thou looking, reader! like *Æsop* in the fable, for a *Man?* Dost thou want an intrepid spirit in the cause of truth, liberty, and virtue—an undeviating rectitude of action—a boundless hospitality—a mind superior to every sensation of malice and resentment—a breast susceptible of the truest friendship, and overflowing with the milk of human kindness—an ardour, an enthusiasm, in laudable pursuits, characteristic of magnanimity—an unwearied assiduity, even to his own hindrance, in public services? my ex-

[q] "The Dissenter's Plea; or the Appeal of the Dissenters to the Justice, Honour, and Religion of the Kingdom. By G. Walker, F.R.S. 1790."

perience can assure thee, that thy pursuit may cease, thy doubts be banished, and thy hope be realised: for this is the man.

Who now will stay to compute the deduction, which must be made from this sum of excellence, for sallies of passion, devoid of all malignity, and often excited by a keen indignation against vice; and for vehemence and pertinacity of disputation? His excellencies are capital virtues; his defects petty failings.

I reflect to this day, with a pensive pleasure, saddened by regret, on the delightful converse—

"That feast of reason, and that flow of soul"—[1]

which I enjoyed with my colleagues; especially at a weekly meeting, holden alternately at the house of each other, and rendered still more agreeable by the occasional accession of some congenial spirit, resident on the spot, or casually introduced as a visitor.

"Tecum etenim longos memini consumere soles."

"While summer suns roll unperceived away,"

[1] Pope.

We once made an attempt to form another society at *Warrington*, merely literary, consisting of Dr. Enfield, the present Dr. Aikin, myself, and an assortment of the superior students: at which every member in his turn was to produce for discussion some composition in prose or verse, upon a subject of criticism, philosophy, or taste. I never relisht this sort of meeting, in which set speeches were expected; but was happy enough when conversation glided by a natural and unprepared course into a literary channel. We soon gave it up.

It was our practice to rise and address the president. I was not willing to be an indolent spectator of the oratory of my colleagues; and got up in my turn to harangue. I stammered, repeated, stood a statue of confusion, and—sat down.

——— "Inceptus clamor frustratur hiantes."[a]

"My sense was gone, my speech was lost."

Yet this consolation remained, that I had *great authorities* to keep me in countenance.

[a] Æn. VI. 493.

"Le nouveau Cicéron tremblant, décoloré
Cherche en vain son discours sur la langue égaré:
En vain, pour gagner tems, dans ses transes affreuses,
Traîne du dernier mot les syllabes honteuses.
Il hésite, il bégaye, et le triste orateur
Demeure enfin muet aux yeux du spectateur."[t]

[t] Boileau le Lutrin Chant. VI. 171, &c.

CHAP. XII.

Mr. Wakefield's first theological Publications—His rapidity of Composition—Devotion to theological Pursuits—Anecdotes of a Clergyman—Mr. Wesley—Observations on the Character of Mr. Howard.

1781—1783.

DURING my residence at Warrington, I began my *theological* career as an author early in the year 1781, with "A new Translation of the First Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Thessalonians,"[a] accompanied by such notes only as were necessary to justify my variations from our established version.

This attempt was received with tolerable favour by the public, and the whole impression has been long since disposed of; a success which has fallen to the lot of only a few of my performances, though I have usually printed but a small number of them.

In the course of a few months I publisht

[a] For several letters occasioned by this publication, see Appendix (A).

my "Essay on Inspiration," intended from a variety of arguments to prove such a gift, as commonly understood, not resident in the gospel writers. The general idea is good and impregnable; but the work is much less accurate than I could wish.

During the same year, on occasion of some discussion with a very respectable and sensible friend, a quaker, I printed my Treatise on baptism.[x]

A dissenting clergyman in the neighbourhood of Warrington felt himself disposed to regulate his ministerial functions by the doctrine which I had endeavoured to establish; but the wind of opposition from the mouths of his congregation began to blow so fresh upon this non-conformist, that, as I understood, he was compelled to take shelter from the storm in the haven of recantation and compliance.

In the next year, 1782, my "new Translation of St. Matthew, with notes, critical, philological and explanatory," in 4to. made it's appearance. This work cost me considerable pains, and has been honoured not only by the approbation, but applause of some of the best scholars and judges in this kingdom, *sound*

[x] See Appendix (A).

and *unsound* in the faith—churchmen and dissenters.

Notwithstanding all this, and it's undeniable utility in giving the young student in divinity an insight into the *phraseology* of the Scriptures, in conjunction with the cheapness, considering it's bulk, fullness, and typographical execution, beyond almost any production of it's time, after a sale of eighteen years, many copies, out of five hundred, remain to be disposed of at this hour.

This work was very expensive, and taught me caution in these undertakings for the future. The remark of *Juvenal* is very applicable to this ill-fated production:

——— "Probitas laudatur, et alget."[y]

——— "virtue, now-a-days,
Gets only the cold charity of praise."[z]

When I once put my hand to the plough, nothing but bodily infirmities induce me to look back; and when I have begun, I finish with unremitted industry and great rapidity.[a]

[y] Juv. Sat. I. 74. [z] Owen.

[a] ——— "Tu, dum tua navis in alto est,
Hoc age, ne mutata retrorsum te ferat aura."
Hor. Ep. I. 18. 87.
W.

This practice I mention merely as a fact, and not from vain-glory in any quickness of conception or fluency of diction; and, moreover, as an apology for unavoidable inaccuracies; because this effect arises from a constitutional ardour which will not suffer me to dwell long on the same object.

My "Translation and Commentary on St. Matthew" was begun and completed within the compass of a few weeks; my "Treatise on Baptism" in nine days; and the first edition of these memoirs was finished, all to a little polish, within *twelve* days from their commencement, in spite of imperfect sleep, multifarious occupations, and an aching head.

For the space of six years after leaving college, the *Greek* and *Roman* writers received a very small portion of my homage, partly from want of books, but principally from my devotion to theological pursuits, which were carried on with the zeal of an enthusiast.

"Yet while your vessel's under sail,
Be sure to catch the flying gale,
Lest adverse winds with rapid force,
Should bear you from your destin'd course."

FRANCIS.

During my abode at Warrington, especially, *Pindus* and *Parnassus* were almost untrodden by my feet; abandoned for

> ——————— " Sion hill
> ——— " and Siloa's brook that flow'd
> Fast by the oracle of God." [b]

In that time I cultivated my acquaintance with the *Old Testament* in the original, even to a degree of intimacy with the *Hebrew* language; I learnt also its kinsmen, the *Syriac* and *Chaldee*; I acquired perfectly the *Samaritan* character, in which and in the *Syro-Chaldaic* version I read the Pentateuch; to these I added the *Æthiopic*, *Arabic*, and *Persic*, but the last less effectually, because less important than the rest, to the purpose of the scriptures; and finally I read the *Coptic* version of the *New Testament* with the utmost facility, and in the course of my reading made some improvements in the lexicon and grammar of that language.

The merit of industry and good intention no man will refuse me, and malice herself shall acknowledge, that, if I have missed the truths

[b] Milton, P. L. I. 10.

of *revelation*, it is not my fault, bnt my misfortune.[c]

An idea now suggests itself, which is of some moment in my own vindication, and will not be introduced unseasonably at this place.

Besides a constitutional intrepidity in the cause of truth, an inherent disdain of temporary expedients, and a native aversion to concealment and disguise, that decision and boldness, which appeared in my theological performances from the very first, had it's origin, I can assure the reader, in a very commendable motive.

I had resolutely determined in that ingenuous season of life, when my conviction was fresh and strong upon my mind, yet uncorrupted by "the world and the things of the world,"[d] to write an indelible testimony against myself[e]—to leave no palliation for apostacy,

[c] "If with all this cost and pains my purchase is but error, I may safely say, to err hath cost me more, than it has many to find the truth; and Truth itself shall give me this testimony at least, that if I have missed of her, it is not my fault but my misfortune."

John Hales of Eton, "Letter to Abp. Laud."

[d] 1 John ii. 15.

[e] Joshua xxiv. 22.

"Pâtiar non molestè, judices, eam vitam quæ mihi suâ

no refuge from the reproach and infamy of mankind—should I ever make an offering of my *integrity* at the shrine of *Mammon*, or, to gratify a patron, bow down in *Rimmon's temple.*

The experience of the living and the testimonies of the dead conspired to shew what the *Apostle* had taught me, that "the love of money is the root of all evil."[f]

> ——————— "forewarn'd
> —— by dire example to beware
> Apostacy, by what befel ———
> To these apostates."[g]

What numbers have launched on the ocean of life with Conscience for their compass and Virtue at the helm; but alas! being imperceptibly seduced into a strange inattention to their security by the allurements of the gay scene around them, have split upon the rock

sponte antea jucunda fuerit nunc jam meâ lege, et conditione, necessariam quoque futuram." CICERO in Verr. III. 2. W.

I willingly consent that the plan of life, which was before, on it's own account, the most delightful to me, shall henceforth also be rendered necessary, by the law and obligation which I fix upon myself.

[f] 1 Tim. vi. 10. [g] Par. Lost, VII. 41.

of interest, and sunk finally in the gulph of corruption, amidst the cries and lamentations of all good men.

A lady of P——, whose son I occasionally assisted with private tuition, in the exuberance of her acknowledgments for this attention, spoke in terms of great magnificence of her interest with distinguished churchmen, her relations, and of the very high probability that some good preferments would be my reward in no long time, through the instrumentality of so powerful a patroness.

No preferment, at any period, would have presented to my mind even an evanescent temptation to renew *subscription* to the *articles*. I made, however, no discovery of my determination to this fair tantalizer; willing to allow her all the merit of so generous an interference with her great friends in my behalf. But after all, she performed no service, and I felt no disappointment.

During one of the years of my residence in this place, I saw in the papers an advertisement from *Cambridge*, offering a prize to the best essay "on the Necessity of a Redeemer,"

by any person, who then was, or had been, a member of that university, and was under thirty years of age.

I immediately determined to collect into one view my thoughts, at various times, on this most important subject, and took the pains of arranging all the texts of the *New Testament* relating to it, under the proper heads; interspersing occasional remarks, and adding such authorities from antient and modern writers, as my share of learning at that time and my scanty library enabled me to exhibit. I sent in my exercise by the day appointed, but with my customary fortune.[h]

The prize was conferred on an essay neither so learned nor elaborate as mine; whether by a determination consonant to the real judgment of the examiners on it's merits, or whether the accuracy of their theological noses discovered some *heretical* taint lurking in my papers, it is not in my power to determine: for, if I rightly remember, a scrupulous conformity to the *orthodoxy* of the Church of England was an indispensible condition of acceptance to every exercise.

[h] "Durat in extremum, vitæque novissima nostræ
Prosequitur fati, qui fuit ante, tenor."
OVID, Ep. VII. 111.
W.

Whilst I lived at Warrington *Dr. P———*, *a red-hot* orthodox Oxonian, preferred to a good benefice, I think, in Berkshire, but usually resident for a few months every year at this town, where his own and his wife's relations also lived, preacht a furious sermon against all *innovators* and *heretics*, at Sankey-street Chapel, which I often frequented from an aversion to the *mode* of praying among dissenters.

It so fortuned that I was not there upon this occasion; but various parts of this discourse were personal, and specific enough abundantly to satisfy the whole congregation that the *pellet* was shot at me; and I was informed of this attack from all quarters.

Afterwards, the doctor perceiving that, in this attempt at popularity, he had misst his aim, and that the *heretical* object of his theological *pop-gun* was in better estimation with the people than he hoped, (by the benefit of this competition, for he was himself universally disliked,) requested *Mr. Owen*, rector of Warrington, to signify, that I was not in his intention in that discourse, and had been misinformed upon the point.

The most candid judge at that time, I am sure, under a knowledge of all the circum-

stances of the case, would have rejected this palliative without hesitation, as a nauseous compound of hypocrisy and meanness.[1]

[1] The doctor was excessively avaricious. He would not allow his servants to sit down at dinner, lest the ease of their situation should incline them to eat more than might be good for them, or than they would be apt to eat in a standing posture: which was a curious refinement in the *pinching* system; but I hope no *curmudgeon* will light upon this narrative, and turn to his own account this expedient of œconomical ingenuity.

One day says the doctor to the *barber's* lad who afterwards drest me: "Tom! can't you take this old wig of mine, and dress it up a bit? I'll give you a *shilling*:—but be sure you don't let your master know." The lad at once closed with the offer, but feeling no fondness for his employer, told his master and fellow 'prentices of his private job. To work he went with irons so hot as scorcht and eventually destroyed the bottom of the hair, which yet kept, for a time, a fresh and stiff curl to the eye. "Aye! this is well done, Tom! indeed: there's a *shilling* for you," says our divine: not doubting but the *periwig* had taken "eternal buckle" under the hands of this expert artificer.

In a day or two the doctor went out in this *renovated busby*; but meeting unfortunately with a heavy shower in his ride, the curls hung down never to be raised again! and betrayed the canker at the root.

> "Purpureus veluti cum flos, succisus aratro,
> Languescit moriens: lassove papavera collo
> Demisere caput, pluviâ cum forte gravantur.
>
> Æn. IX. 435.

Over against this *Dr. P*——— lived a sugar-baker, *** by name, at whose house the celebrated *Mr. Wesley* was sometimes entertained on his progresses.

It is well known that this extraordinary man was uniformly a pertinacious stickler for the pre-eminence of *academical graduates* among his clergy; and (if I am rightly informed) the undignified tribe, whatever their ministerial excellencies might be, were never admitted to the administration of certain more important functions in the church.

One day the preachers were walking about the room, or looking into the street, as fancy dictated. It was casually mentioned among them that the opposite house belonged to a clergyman whose name was *Dr. P*———. "Aye;" says one of the *uninitiated subalterns*, with a length of countenance and a drawling

> "As a gay flower, with blooming beauties crown'd,
> Cut by the share, lies languid on the ground;
> Or some tall poppy, that, o'ercharg'd with rain,
> Bends the faint head, and sinks upon the plain."
>
> - PITT.

When Tom made his regular visit the next day, he saw the *doctor* ready equipped with a *horse-whip* in his hand, to give him a warm reception. Tom's conscience smote him; he took to his heels, and consigned the beard and periwig of his reverence to another artist. W.

tone; "there were no *doctors* in *divinity* in our Saviour's time!" "I don't know that," replied *Wesley*, with some eagerness: "I don't know that *St. Paul* might not very properly be called a *Doctor in Divinity*."

I went, when he was at Warrington, to hear Mr. Wesley preach. There was nothing in his discourse either to admire or despise. The familiar address after the sermon contained admonitions, or censures of the audience, remarks upon the state of their particular congregation, and short histories of his own exploits.

I was diverted not a little with the conclusion of one of the *hymns*, and I supposed till this day that *Hogarth* had taken advantage of the *early* excesses of the sect, when he employed the lines, which I am going to produce, in his plate of *Credulity, Enthusiasm*, and *Superstition*; but Wesley gave the inspiring couplet on this occasion with a warmth of emphasis to the enraptured audience:

> "Only *love* to us be given!
> Lord! we ask no other heaven."

The renowned philanthrope, Mr. HOWARD, visited me at *Warrington*, and I was in his company several other times.

The impressions of his character, which these interviews left on my mind, were those of a man rigorously conscientious; free from immoralities himself, and inexorable to those of others; ardent, to enthusiasm, in all his projects; of unconquerable perseverance; of perfect punctuality in every engagement; stern, self-sufficient, arbitrary, and assuming; inattentive to the conversation of others; and impatient in company, when not occupied in the recital of his own adventures.

This character[k] of *Mr. Howard* (in the former edition of these memoirs) though very different from the studied encomiums of his panegyrists, yet coincides, as I have since understood, with the sentiments of others, who have formed their opinion from more frequent opportunities of intercourse, and an association more familiar and more durable than mine.

In fact his zeal respecting prisons was his *hobby-horse*; and happening to be an amiable one, and suited to his temper, from principle benevolent, and intrepidly persevering from nature, it acquired, of course, universal veneration.

[k] The question with me is, Is it truth? if so, I never regard any imputation when the facts cannot be disputed; and am quite indifferent to the judgments of those, who are afraid of encountering Truth under any form. W.

Mr. Howard was destitute of those enlarged conceptions which the cultivation of letters, and a liberal profession of religion are calculated to produce. You might admire him at a distance, but he wanted those accomplishments which command *affection.* Thus the *astronomer* regards our *earth,* in his *general* calculations, as an even *sphæroid*; but a near inspection shews it's surface to be depressed in vallies, protuberant in hills, and exasperated by a thousand inequalities.

CHAP. XIII.

Mr. Wakefield removes to Bramcote—Publishes "Directions for Students in Theology"—Removes to Richmond—Anecdotes of Bennett and Lewis.

1783, 1784.

THE *Warrington Academy* being now dissolved, I, of course, having, as the apostle has expressed it, "no more place in these parts," removed with my family, and fixt myself in the autumn of 1783 at Bramcote, a most pleasant village within four miles of Nottingham on the Derby road.

My wish was to have procured a few pupils for my maintenance; and, in prosecution of this purpose, I wrote to all my friends, real or pretended,[1] and among the last description

[1] "Dî tibi sint faciles, et opis nullius egentem
Fortunam præstent, dissimilemque meæ.—
Atque hæc, exemplis quondam collecta priorum,
Nunc mihi sunt propriis cognita vera malis.
Vix duo tresve mihi de tot superestis, amici;
Cætera fortunæ, non mea, turba fuit.
OVID. Trist. I. 5. 33.

found *Dr. Porteus*, my *Lord* of *Chester*, as he then was, to claim his station.[m]

Still, however, I made excuses to myself for that great incivility of a total neglect to answer my letter, which indeed nothing can justify one human creature in exercising towards another; and in the fullness of my good opinion, dedicated to him in the beginning of 1784, my anonymous tract, "on the Study of Divinity,"[n] without any interested view whatever; for I dare say he never knew the author, till I annext it, several years afterwards, to the list of my publications.

I do not repent of that dedication, because a conscientious and respectful action needs no

[m] We cannot but apprehend that Mr. Wakefield, whose own practice, in similar cases, was so uniformly cautious, was on this account more liable to construe *too literally* the intention of those customary expressions of respect and goodwill which are so current in society, especially among persons of the higher orders; this we think influenced him in the present instance, and in a former part of his memoirs, to conclude somewhat too hastily against the sincerity of Bishop Porteus, upon whose patronage his claims appear to have been but slender, and very different from those which he might reasonably make on Bishop Pretyman, and other exalted churchmen.

[n] The title of this little work (which has been quoted before in these notes) is "Directions for the Student in Theology," 1784.

repentance: but plentiful proof has convinced me, since the inauspicious hour of it's production, that the encomium was undeserved. All my applications were answered only by a single pupil, who had been a student under me at Warrington.

In this rural retreat of *Bramcote* I carried on my *theological* studies with incessant vigour, and produced the first volume of an "Enquiry into the Opinions of the Christian Writers of the three first Centuries concerning the Person of Jesus Christ,"* which I carried down no further than to the conclusion of the *apostolic age*; and meeting with no encouragement to continue my plan, I have long since dropped it for ever. This production has been very pointedly commended by men, whose judgment would do honour to any work.

The *Rev. Mr. Parkhurst*, formerly of *Clare Hall, Cambridge*, bestowed part of a book, written more particularly against *Dr. Priestley*, in attempting to confute some of the positions in this publication. If I recollect rightly,

* This work was dedicated to *Dr. Watson, Bishop of Landaff*, as a tribute of respect for his great learning, and, *then*, highly liberal principles. In the Appendix, [A], will be found the bishop's letter of acknowledgment to Mr. Wakefield on this occasion.

his arguments were nothing more than some of the stale futilities on the *plural termination* of the *Hebrew* word ELOHIM[p] in defence of the

[p] *Mr. Frend,* in his Letters to *Bishop Pretyman,* has the following ingenious observations on an argument which is so great a favourite with *Orthodox* Christians.

"Your lordship finds the Trinity in the first verse of Genesis, because forsooth a noun plural in the Hebrew language is joined to a verb singular; and the English reader is to rest his faith upon your lordship's 'critical studying of languages and phrases.'

"I used formerly, and your lordship probably continues to be much in company with Norfolk men, who from a peculiarity of dialect, when they speak in the third person, join in the present tense a noun in the singular to a verb in the plural. Thus they say, George do love Susan, not George loves Susan; Nelson fight well, not Nelson fights well; but they mean exactly the same as other Englishmen, who use singular nouns with singular verbs.—The expression of the Norfolk men, and the expression in the first verse of Genesis, are idioms of speech, and both may probably be accounted for in a similar manner. I was one day carelessly turning over a folio, in which was, I think, Ingulph's relation of the incursions of the Danes into this country, of whom a great number by his account were by compact settled in Norfolk. This circumstance led me to reconsider the peculiarity of the Norfolk dialect; and on examining the Danish grammar, I found that it was no solecism in Denmark, but the regular structure of the Danish language. A similar circumstance, at this distance of time not so easily ascertained, may have occasioned the peculiarity of the Hebrew language; and a greater insight into the languages of Africa, where Alam is still in many

Trinity; unworthy of a moment's consideration. If such remarks were *philologically* just (which they are not) who would choose to construct a system *so extraordinary* upon the weak foundation of a *grammatical* singularity of language?

This gentleman was author of a Hebrew

parts the name for god, will perhaps afford a clue to us in future researches."

Animadversions on the Elements of Christian Theology, Letter XII. pp. 90 and 91.

Dr. Johnson's well-known most scrupulous adherence to the doctrines termed *orthodox*, would never suffer him to reject the aid of any argument that could be thought to give countenance to his favourite tenets. The terms, however, in which the doctor speaks of the argument in favour of the *Trinity*, drawn from the *first chapter of Genesis*, which Bishop Pretyman has considered as deserving his support, is striking, and well worthy of attention from those who agree with the bishop. Speaking of the celebrated *Father Paul*, Johnson remarks, that "being made a priest at twenty-two, he was distinguished by the illustrious cardinal Borromeo with his confidence, and employed by him on many occasions, not without the envy of persons of less merit, who were so far exasperated as to lay a charge against him, before the inquisition, for denying that the Trinity could be proved from the first chapter of Genesis; *but the accusation was too ridiculous to be taken notice of.*"

Life of Father Paul Sarpi in Works, XII. p. 5.

The circumstance concerning which Dr. Johnson thus expresses himself, occurred so long ago as the year 1574, at the very fountain head of orthodoxy and superstition.

lexicon, and other performances, which in every page betray a most romantic and fanciful superstition, and abundance of ridiculous etymologies.

One cause, to which I have attributed the cool reception of my writings, in addition to such as must be obvious to the most undiscerning reader, is the unrelenting severity with which those *reviews*, in most estimation at that time, prosecuted every publication from my pen.

Mr. Badcock, then a writer in the *Monthly Review*, was labouring, like many others, to prove the sincerity of his conversion by the most vehement attacks on his first connexions.

Τως δε σ'απεχθαιρω, ως πριν επαγλ' εφιλησα.[q]

Against my "Enquiry," this writer repeated the old charge of asperity, illiberality, and abuse; and some of his brethren at this day, not careful to model their sentence by the evidence, and criticising *by precedent* alone, shew themselves too forward in following his most unjustifiable example.

[q] Hom. Il. III. 415.
Much as I lov'd thee once, I now detest,

This is exactly the case of the poor animal in the street. A malicious rascal cries out, "A mad dog! a mad dog!" the neighbours rise up in arms, and the unoffending creature, through the calumny of a villain, is knocked on the head *without judge or jury.*

When I figure to my mind a representation of uncommon depravity, it is the person of a malignant critic, under the authority of a *review,* and the security of *concealment,* vilifying writers of learning, industry, or genius; because their sentiments may not harmonize with the professions of that numerous portion of every society, who, without enquiry, acquiesce in established notions and established practices.

Success failing me in this peaceful abode, and a residence at such a distance from a town proving inconvenient, without those domestic accommodations which my circumstances would not allow, it was judged expedient that I should make one effort more to establish myself in life, by a settlement in the neighbourhood of *London,* the centre of activity and observation. I, therefore, again encountered the unspeakable inconveniences of a removal, burthensome in a tenfold degree, where the "cura peculî" enters so essentially into the conduct of these measures.

Behold me then, in May 1784, fixed for the second time at *Richmond*, advertising for pupils, renewing my applications, and among the rest to my *old* friend *Dr. Pretyman*, the present *Bishop* of *Lincoln*, who was not backward in his uncostly[r] *professions* of attachment, esteem, and service.

At this time I received a letter from a poor *French master*, which is an uncommon curiosity

[r] *Dr. Jortin*, in his letter to *Mr. Avison*, on the music of the ancients, speaking of his motives for cultivating that elegant art, says, "It helps to relieve and soothe the mind, and is a sort of refuge from some of the evils of life, from slights, and neglects, and censures, and insults, and disappointments; from the warmth of real enemies and the coldness of pretended friends; from your *well-wishers* (as they may justly be called, in opposition to *well-doers*), whose inclinations to serve you always decrease in a most mathematical proportion, as their opportunities to do it increase; from

> 'The proud man's contumely, and the spurns
> Which patient merit of the unworthy takes;'—
> (Hamlet's Sol.)

from grievances that are the growth of all times and places. Many things we must expect to meet with, which it would be hard to bear, if a compensation were not to be found in honest endeavours to do well, in virtuous affections and connections, and in harmless and reasonable amusements."

Dr. JORTIN's Tracts, vol. II. p. 10.

W.

in it's kind, and as such I present it to the reader.

Reverend Sir,

I TAKE the liberty to write you, to have the honour to present you my most humble respects; and also to humbly beg your permission to recommend myself to your *venerable person* as a *French* and *Latin* teacher, who teaches the *French* and *Latin* tongues after the decisions of the *French* and *Latin academies:* and if *his venerable person* doubts of my capacity, he may inquire at Mr. *Green's* and *Alchin's* academies in the county of Surry; and I am ready to be examined by the most learned people if it is necessary: therefore the reason of my writing this letter to you, is to intreat to you to grant your favour to be your *French* teacher in your academy; and if my services are useful to you to teach the *Latin* tongue, it is the same thing for me, because I know perfectly well the *Latin* tongue, *since I am the Latin master*; and if I am so happy to receive from you that kindness, thou be persuaded that I'll continually offer up my prayers for your preservation; you, for whom I shall always have the greatest respects, till I have the happiness of seeing and knowing you, and of assuring you by fresh protestations how I am,

Reverend Sir,
Your most humble
And obedient servant,

London, July, 1784.

Who, but the stranger to humanity and it's interests, will refuse the tear of commiseration to the wretched and ignominious condition of these fugitives? No description can

reach the insults and indignities which they perpetually experience from their unfeeling and ungenerous superiors.

The eye that directs this pen has seen modest worth ridiculed and trampled on by an inhumanized being in the form of a *Briton* and a *Clergyman*. Oh! how amiable (on the contrary) is that evangelical benevolence, which embraces every inhabitant of the universe with an equal ardour of affection! that contemplates in every human form a *son*[s] of

[s] "Nam si ab uno homine quem Deus finxit, omnes orimur, certe consanguinei sumus; et ideo maximum scelus putandum est, hominem odisse, vel nocentem. Propterea Deus præcepit inimicitias per nos nunquam faciendas, esse semper tollendas, scilicet ut eos, qui sint nobis inimici, necessitudinis admonitos mitigemus. Item si ab uno Deo inspirati omnes et animati sumus, quid aliud quam fratres sumus, et quidem conjunctiores qui animis quam qui corporibus. Itaque non errat Lucretius quum dicit.

'Denique cœlesti sumus omnes semine oriundi,
Omnibus ille idem pater est.'

Ergo pro belluis immanibus sunt habendi qui hominibus nocent, qui contra jus humanitatis, et fas omne, spoliant, cruciant, occidunt, exterminant."

LACTANTIUS "de Vero Cultu," Cap. VI. 10.
W.

For if we have all sprung from one man, fashioned by God, certainly we are a kindred race; and it must therefore

the same ALMIGHTY UNIVERSAL PARENT, a *Brother*[1] of the same *Redeemer*, and a fellow heir of immortality and glory.

In the mean time, no streaks of hope appearing in my horizon from my station at this place, and a house at Nottingham becoming vacant, which I had attempted to procure before I quitted Bramcote, and which was endeared to me by a library, reposited there, of which I was to have the use, I returned with my family from Richmond to my native town at Michaelmas in the same year.

But before I bid adieu to this *elysium* of England, I will deserve the applauses of every true Briton and honest patriot, by recording

be esteemed a great crime to hate a fellow-creature, even though guilty and injurious. It is therefore the precept of God, that, as far as it depends upon ourselves, we never raise, but always quiet discord, that we may appease those who have become our enemies, by reminding them of the alliance which they bear to us. Farther, if we have all received the inspiration of understanding and the breath of life from one God, what are we else, than brethren? And the mental is closer than the corporal union. Lucretius therefore rightly says, "We have all sprung from a celestial seed, we have all the same father." We must consider those therefore as savage monsters, who delight in the injury of their fellow-creatures, who, contrary to the rights of humanity and every obligation, rob, torture, murder, and destroy.

[1] Heb. ii. 10 & 11.

the memorable exertions of two individuals in *private* life, which will sanctify their remembrance to the worshippers of liberty in ages yet unborn:

> "Two village-Hampdens that with dauntless breast
> The little tyrants of their fields withstood."[a]

The first of these *heroes* is *Mr. Timothy Bennett*, of *Hampton Wick*, in this neighbourhood; and the following is a short history of his atchievement.

The foot passage from this village through *Bushy Park* (a royal demesne) to *Kingston-upon-Thames* had been for many years shut up from the public. This honest Englishman consulted a lawyer upon the practicability of recovering this road, and determined to proceed with vigour in the prosecution of this public claim.

Lord Halifax, ranger of Bushy Park, was advertised of his intentions, and sent for him.[x]

[a] Gray's Eleg. imit.

[x] I am possessed of an excellent engraving, which represents this worthy of an inimitably firm and complacent aspect, sitting down and in the attitude of his conversation with his lordship. The inscription beneath the print is, *Timothy Bennett* of *Hampton Wick, Middlesex, Shoemaker, aged 75*, 1752. W.

"And who are you that have the assurance to meddle in this affair?" "My name, my lord! is *Timothy Bennet, shoemaker*, of *Hampton Wick*. I remember, an't please your lordship! to have seen, when I was a young man, sitting at my work, the people cheerfully pass by my shop to Kingston market; but now, my lord! they are forced to go round about through a hot sandy road, ready to faint beneath their burdens: and I am unwilling to leave the world worse than I found it (which was his favourite expression); this, my lord, I humbly represent, is the reason of my conduct."—"Begone! you are an impertinent fellow."

However, upon mature reflexion, his lordship, convinced of the equity of the claim, and, notwithstanding the advice of his friends to persist in opposing it, beginning to compute the ignominy of defeat—*Lord Halifax*, the *Nobleman*, non-suited by *Timothy Bennet*, the *shoemaker*—and the improbability of success, desisted from his opposition and opened the road, which is enjoyed, without molestation, by foot-passengers to this day.

The second of these twin patriots is *Mr. John Lewis*, of *Richmond*, brother to *Dr. Lewis*, the celebrated physician, author of that valuable work "The philosophical Commerce of Arts."

By one of those monarchical encroachments which have distinguished the present reign, at *Richmond*, and essentially impaired the beauty and convenience of that terrestrial paradise, the *footway* through *Richmond*-park to *Wimbledon*, *East Sheen*, and *Kingston*, was shut up, and no passage allowed without a ticket.

Lewis takes a friend with him to the spot; waits for the opportunity of a carriage passing through; and when the door-keeper was shutting the gates, interposed and offered to go in. "Where is your ticket?" "What occasion for a ticket? any body may pass through here." "No: not without a ticket." "Yes, they may; and *I* will." "You shan't." "I will." The woman pusht, *Lewis* suffered the door to be shut upon him, brought his action, and was triumphant.[y]

[y] The cause was tried at the *Surry assizes*, before that upright judge *Sir Michael Foster*. After the decree in his favour, *Lewis* was asked, whether he would have a *step ladder* to go over the wall, or a *door*? He hesitated for some minutes; but reflecting that strangers might not be aware of the privilege of admission through a door, which could not stand open on account of the deer; considering also that in process of time a *bolt* might be put to this door, and then a *lock*, and so his efforts be gradually frustrated; sensible too that a *step-ladder*, at the first inspection, would signify its use to every beholder, he preferred that mode of introduction.

I have listened with delight to this noble spirit relating other exploits of this kind; and will not deny my reader the communication of one or two more, equally heroic. Such disinterested instances of public virtue redeem the degenerate age in which we live from an universal imputation of servility and corruption.

It had long been the wish of his present majesty to obtain possession of a narrow lane, of great length, which separated *Richmond* and *Kew* gardens from each other, and led a shorter way from *Richmond* to *Kew* and *Brentford Ferry*. The object in this was the same as in other attempts of the like nature, which (to the extreme detriment of the village) had been crowned with success; namely, the enlargement of a garden already enormous in it's dimensions, and, at that time, seldom visited by it's possessor.

In mere spite, the steps of this ladder were set at such a distance from each other as rendered it almost useless. At a subsequent period, when the same judge happened to go the *Home* Circuit, *Lewis* complained again to the court. "My lord!" says he, "they have left such a space between the steps of the ladder, that children and old men are unable to get up it." "I have observed it myself," says this honest justice; "and I desire, *Mr. Lewis!* that you would see it so constructed, that not only children and old men, but *old women* too, may be able to get up." W.

The *King* not being then very popular, and the *Queen* almost idolized,[z] her name was thought the proper instrument of application to the affections of the good people of *Richmond*. She is lady of the manor; and her steward "made a great dinner, and invited many;" and among the rest *our hero*.

Lewis, knowing himself to be disliked by the court and it's retainers, at first refused to accept this honour; but, upon consideration, becoming apprehensive that some plot was in agitation, determined at last to go.

The bottle went merrily about, amidst a profusion of the luxuries of the season. *Lewis*, however, determined to keep the possession of his sober faculties, and was on his guard accordingly.

Late in the evening, when most of the

[z] "Omne ignotum pro magnifico est:" on which subject the *Bishop of Cloyne* once repeated to me an *epigram* incomparably excellent. It was said to be the production of a young man at college, the master of which, who had set him this imposition, kept a pair of coach-horses, perfect *Rosinantes* in condition; thin almost to transparency,

"His nags, sworn enemy to pamper'd steeds!
On hay and stubble old Avaro feeds.
Bred in his fields, and in his stables born,
What *vast ideas* must they have of *corn*." W.

See Salmagundi, 2d edit. p. 128.

company were dispersed, the steward gets up, expatiates upon the benevolence and amiable qualities of our gracious queen, and declares how infinitely she should be obliged to the inhabitants of Richmond for giving up the road in question; but that, if it was disagreeable to a single inhabitant of the place, she did not wish the surrender to be made.

> "Conticuere omnes, intentique ora tenebant:
> Indè toro pater Æneas sic orsus ab alto." [a]
>
> "All gaz'd in silence with an eager look,
> Then, rising from his seat, the hero spoke." [b]

"*Mr. Sayer*," said *Lewis* as he rose, "*I am that individual.* With as much respect for her majesty as you or any man can entertain, I do not feel myself at liberty, notwithstanding, to compliment the queen with the privileges and advantages of my townsmen and their posterity. Their rights are sacred; neither in our disposal, nor in that of others. We are, in our day, the guardians of a trust committed to us by our forefathers; and we are guilty of infidelity and fraud, if these trusts do not pass unimpaired through our hands into the possession of our children."

The design was given up for a season, but,

[a] Æneid II. 1. [b] Pitt.

in a few years, an *act of parliament* alienated this property, for ever, from it's legal claimants.

" Pone seram; cohibe. Sed quis custodiet ipsos
Custodes?" [c]

" To legal forms your rights in vain you trust;
For who shall keep the very keepers just?" [d]

This patriotic man was endowed with an

[c] Juvenal, Sat. VI. 268.

[d] " One day," continued this intrepid veteran, " as I was walking, when a boy, with my father at *Kew*; " Observe, Jack!" says he, " the new road they have made there, and the gate in the old path. What they mean is, for people to accustom themselves to this new way; and then that gate, which is open at present, will be locked, and the road taken from the public to themselves." " Well," says *Lewis*, " in a course of years, I lived to see my father's predictions verified. The gate was fastened.—I past by with a friend, and some of my men," (he was an eminent brewer at the time) " the day before our annual parochial procession at *Richmond*. My lads!" says I, " take care to bring your hatchets with you to-morrow, to cut down this gate; for we must go through it to our bounds." " Don't speak so loud," said my friend, " or you will be heard by the people at the *Princess Dowager's*." " Oh!" I replied, raising my voice; " I have no objection to be heard. I am *John Lewis, of Richmond*, and mean to knock down this gate to-morrow for a passage through according to custom. But"—says he, " we might have spared our trouble. The lock was taken off, and the gate opened for our processioners." W.

extraordinary portion of strong native sense, and a fund of sarcastic humour, with a promptness of elocution in nervous and significant expression that has rarely been surpassed; in conjunction with a perfect command of temper.

As an evidence upon trials, and in vestry disputes, he has given frequent proofs of his oratorical powers, to the admiration of the audience.

From a state of affluence and distinction above the vulgar, he fell into poverty in his old age; but a handsome annuity was regularly provided for him by the generous contribution and active interposition of my brother, the minister of *Richmond*, who in that awful crisis, when *faith* shall be lost in *sight*, and *hope* absorbed in *possession*, will receive, for a multitude of such benevolent exertions, the testimony of CHARITY, that *never faileth.*[e]

[e] "For when the vanities of life's brief day
Oblivion's hurrying wing shall sweep away,
Each act by Charity and Mercy done,
High o'er the wrecks of time, shall live alone
Immortal as the Heav'ns, and beauteous bloom
To other worlds, and realms beyond the tomb."

BOWLES.

CHAP. XIV.

Mr. Wakefield returns to Nottingham—Elected a Member of the Literary and Philosophical Society at Manchester—Essay on alphabetical Characters—Private Pupils—Interruption of his Studies by severe Illness—Edition of Gray's Poems—Of the Georgics of Virgil—Regulations of the Cambridge Press.

1784—1788.

See me then, reader! stationed again at my native place in the autumn of 1784. Nothing worthy of memorial, nothing, I mean, productive of instruction or recreation to others, occurred for some time after my return to *Nottingham.*

I continued, as usual, my application to my studies; and about a twelvemonth after my arrival, returned to my *classical* pursuits with an ardour attending the resumption of a long-neglected favourite, and unabated to this hour. For almost every object, such as this, in which I am engaged at this moment, is pursued with weariness and impatience, as detaining me

from an employment, in which I luxuriate as congenial to my nature.

I had meditated, indeed, an entire translation of the *Old Testament*; not merely such as may easily be given by moderate acquirements and common industry, but an amended version from the text of the original, adjusted and corrected by a comparison of all the *Oriental* translations extant. I have some collections of this nature by me;[f] and, if I live to enjoy more leisure, hope to execute a translation of *Isaiah:* but this performance will fall far short of that accuracy, which a continuance of my *theological* career would have exhibited.

A mature reflexion upon the enormous expence attendant on such works, and my experience of the slender encouragement[g] which

[f] Among Mr. Wakefield's papers are a number of miscellaneous critical remarks on this subject, but nothing sufficiently prepared for publication.

[g] "Turn yourself to the study of the *heathen* historians, poets, orators, and philosophers. Spend ten or twelve years upon *Horace* or *Terence*. To illustrate a *billet-doux* or a *drunken catch*, —— —— will do you more credit, and be of greater service to you than the most useful employment of your time upon the *scriptures*; unless you can resolve to *conceal your sentiments*, and speak always with the vulgar: you see a present example in the great *Bentley:* What a reputation he has acquired by the noble edition he has given us of

usually falls to the lot of authors in this department of literature, and to myself in particular, determined me to relax my efforts in this direction, as likely to answer no purpose at all adequate to the cost and labour to be expended in it.

I, therefore, transferred my chief application to the productions of *Greece* and *Rome*, with a particular attention at the same time to every fact and every expression that could contribute to illustrate the *phraseology* or sense of the *sacred writings*, or throw any light on the *evidences* of *revelation*. And in this course of study I was, for some time, enabled to proceed by the indulgence and liberality of the *syndics* of the *Cambridge* press; which subject

Horace? How are his abilities confessed and admired by all? But had the same genius, the same sagacity and labour, been applied to the study of the *scriptures*; to settle the text in doubtful places, to mend corrupted ones, explain hard ones, fix the meaning of obscure ones, and to trace out the literal sense where it can be done; should he, I say, have attempted a work of this kind; instead of thanks and applause, 'tis more than probable he would have been treated as a rash man, of no judgment, of little learning, and less religion."

Bishop HARE's Letter on "the Difficulties and Discouragements which attend the Study of the Scriptures in the Way of private Judgment."—Ad fin. 7th edit. 1716. Re-published by Baron in "Pillars of Priestcraft," &c. See IV. 49.

will come more properly under our view at a future period.

About this time I was honoured by the secretary of the *Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester* with an account of the distinction shewn me by them in electing me an *honorary* member, though my *diploma* bears date April 28, 1784.

This testimony of respect was more immediately occasioned by an "[b]Essay on the Origin of Alphabetical Characters," than which, no subject of superior interest and dignity can, in my opinion, engage the disquisition of learning or the contemplation of philosophy.

This production received such favour as to be read to the society at two successive meetings, and was published in the second volume of their "Memoirs."

Nor have other judges of literary merit

[b] This essay having never been printed in a separate form, we conceive that the re-publication of it will be esteemed a valuable addition to this work. The subject frequently engaged Mr. Wakefield's attention as being by no means a question of mere curiosity, but deriving considerable importance from the interesting topics with which it is immediately connected.

He made many additions in the margin of his own copy of the essay, which, with the corrections, will be found in the Appendix (B).

distinguished it with more parsimonious commendation. It was inserted in the "New Annual Register for 1785;" and the editors of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" thought it worthy of a place in the late enlarged edition of that work. It was not, however, a spontaneous effusion; but reluctantly[1] brought forth at the intreaty of a friend, and written under a variety of inconvenient circumstances.

In my employment of tuition, I now fared better than in former times, and for several years had three or four pupils on very handsome terms. But this tide of prosperity was not raised by the influence of those pretended friends who were moving in the higher orbits of society.

One or two individuals in private life are alone entitled to my acknowledgments of service at this period; and the most disinterested claimant on my gratitude was *Mr. George Hibbert*, merchant, and since *alderman* of *Lon-*

[1] "Practise all things chiefly at two several times, the one when the mind is best disposed, the other when it is worst disposed; that by the one you may gain a great step, by the other you may work out the knots and stands of the mind, and make the middle times the more easy and pleasant."

Lord Bacon. "Advancement of Learning," book ii. 4to. edit. I. p. 103.

W.

don; a gentleman of most conspicuous politeness and liberality, in all my transactions with him.*

It is lamentable to observe the sordid maxims by which even the opulent regulate their conduct in the business of education: and whilst the vanity of equipage, and the gaieties of public life are destroying vast sums by perpetual dissipation, the understanding of a favourite son, the pillar of their hopes and happiness! is suffered to lie uncultivated or incumbered with unprofitable instruction, for want of the wisdom and the justice in parents to encounter that expence which a *horse* or a *servant*[1]

* This gentleman, Mr. Wakefield mentioned very honourably on his trial, in 1799, as ready to attend in his behalf, but was afterwards painfully surprized to be unaccountably neglected by him during his imprisonment in the *King's Bench*; a situation that peculiarly demanded all the solace that friendship could bestow, and whatever countenance respectability of station might confer.

[1] Συνισταντος τινος Αριστιππῳ υἱον, ᾐτησε πενταχοσιας δραχμας· του δ' εἰποντος, Τοσουτου δυναμαι ἀνδραποδον ωνησασθαι: Πριω, εφη, και ἐξεις δυο. Diog. Laert. 51. A. edit. Rom. 1594.

W.

When a certain person proposed to place his son under the care of Aristippus, Aristippus asked him five hundred drachmas; I can buy, said the other, a slave for that sum: Do, said Aristippus, and then you will have two. See also Aulus Gellius, xv. 19.

can induce them to incur without hesitation, and without a murmur.[m]

When I reflect on the illiberality of these despicable mortals, my heart rises in me with indignation; and no prospect of emolument could ever induce me to submit to their meanness for a single moment.

I will exhibit below part of a short correspondence between myself and one of these impertinent dictatorial *condition-making* gentlemen, which may serve to expose the unreasonableness of some people; though, perhaps, I might have retorted as properly with less asperity.[n]

[m] "It is pitie, that commonlie more care is had, yea, and that amonges verie wise men, to find out rather a cunnynge man for their horse, than a cunnynge man for their children. They say nay in worde, but they do so in deede. For to the one they will gladly give a stipend of 200 crounes by yeare, and loth to offer to the other 200 shillings.* God that sitteth in heaven laugheth their cheice to skorne, and rewardeth their liberalitie as it should, for he suffereth them to have tame and well ordered horses, but wilde and unfortunate children; and therefore in the ende they finde more pleasure in their horse, than comforte in their children."

ASCHAM's "Schoolmaster," Works, 4to. p. 212.

W.

[n] I must premise that what this disparaging barterer (in

* See Juvenal, VII. 186.

How far the reader will go in his approbation of my conduct on this occasion, must be

the spirit of *Solomon's* worldling, "It is naught, it is naught, saith the buyer; and when he is gone his way then he boasteth") * in all the affectation of self-important opulence, calls a *garret*, was one of the best and pleasantest rooms in a very commodious house, where he required as another reasonable accommodation, a constant fire to be kept for his son.

"Sir,

"If I send my son to be under your care, I suppose you will, at your expence, fit up the garret and closet adjoining: they may be made convenient, though the room is not near so good as that he has been lately used to. The chief things wanted, besides those mentioned, when I had the pleasure of calling upon you, are some shelves for books, of which my son has a considerable number; drawers for his linen and clothes, a table large enough to read and write at, and some chairs.

As three guineas are to be paid as entrance, I suppose my son may stay with you till October or September, without making any allowance, if he is not absent during that time. If he stays the remainder of the year, and is not absent six weeks, I do not object to an allowance in proportion to 50l. for the rest of the year. I wish to be clear both for my own sake and for your's, as I shall then be able to mention your terms to my friends, who have sons to educate. In case your answer is agreeable, I intend my son to come to your house the beginning of the next week. By turning your abilities and attention to the instruction of pupils, I hope you will soon meet with all the success you desire. Mr. Hume, I think, says that eloquence in England is far below the perfection to

* Proverbs xx. 14.

left to his own judgment. I was resolved to act up to the spirit of these "Memoirs" by shewing myself as I am.

Mankind, however, should be made to understand (and such arrogant dictators in particular) that the office of a tutor is of the first usefulness and dignity in society; and that no

which it may be carried.—May not the same be said of education, particularly of speaking, and English composition? Any gentleman with learning and talents, who studies to improve this branch, will deserve the thanks of the public, and when his merit is known, will doubtless have the power of requiring such terms as will soon make him easy for life, if not rewarded by preferment in the church."

"Sir, Nottingham, January 19, 1785.

"YOUR letter confirms me in a suspicion, which your conversation excited, that you would not easily be satisfied with any treatment of your son. You suppose me, no doubt, to be some needy schoolmaster, who will be glad of a pupil upon any terms. You are mistaken. I have a degree of spirit and liberality, I do assure you, which some, I perceive, in more affluent circumstances and politer life appear not to possess. I do not wish that any man should entrust his son to my care, who does not think it of as much importance to *himself* as to me. My merit is not *to be* tried and *to be* known, as you suppose; it *has been* tried, and is well known: and I am happy to number some of the greatest characters of this kingdom, in station, abilities, and virtue, among my friends, That I have not been served by them more effectually may seem a singularity to you; but it is a singularity for which I could easily account." W.

pecuniary compensation can be a proper equivalent for a conscientious inspection of the morals, and the communication of valuable knowledge.° Let us hear on this subject the admirable remarks of a spirited *Roman.*

" Isto modo, ne medico quidquam debere te, nisi mercedulam, dices; nec præceptori, quia aliquid numeraveris: atqui omnium horum apud nos magna caritas, magna reverentia est. Quædam pluris sunt quam emuntur. Emis a medico rem inæstimabilem, vitam ac valetudinem bonam; a bonarum artium præceptore, studia liberalia, et animi cultum. Itaque his *non rei pretium, sed operæ solvitur:* mercedem *non meriti,* sed occupationis suæ ferunt." [p]

° See Aul. Gell. IX. 3. W.

[p] Senec. de benef. VI. 15.

In the same manner you will say that you owe nothing to the physician but a small fee, nothing to the preceptor, because you have paid him the trifle which is his due: while, on the other hand, they are considered by us as benefactors entitled to sentiments of the greatest affection and respect. Some things are of greater value than the mere sums for which they are purchased. You buy from the physician invaluable articles—life and good health. From the teacher of useful science you purchase a taste for liberal pursuits, and a cultivated mind. To them, therefore, *not the value of the benefit* which they

Though I had never read the church-service, in public, since I gave up my curacy at *Liverpool*, in June, 1779, I had preached now and then, at various seasons, and in several places. These I shall specify, as they will take up no long time in the enumeration, and will fill up the chart of my theological operations as a *deacon* in the *Church of England*. But my sermons were all free-will offerings, and received no pecuniary compensation.

I preacht, once or twice in 1783, for the curate of *Bramcote*, in the church there, and once in the *mother-church* of *Attenborough*, a village about two miles south of Bramcote, on the banks of the Trent, and famous for giving birth to *Henry Ireton*, *Lord Deputy of Ireland* during the *Protectorate*, and son-in-law to *Cromwell*.

Indeed our little county was eminently fertile of those choice spirits, who, in the seventeenth century, instructed mankind with such energy and success in the lessons of civil liberty, which their disciples, of our days, have practised in a manner infinitely honourable to themselves and their preceptors: but

communicate, but of the *labour* which they expend, is repaid: they receive the recompense not of their deserts, but of their exertions and employments.

the names of those heroes I cannot give with sufficient exactness and authority.

I preacht the sermon at *Richmond* upon the general peace in 1784,[q] at the request of my brother; the *Infirmary sermon* at *St. Peter's, Nottingham,* in 1785 or 1786; and twice at *St. Mary's,* about the same time. And there ends my list of these exhibitions from the pulpit.

My affairs went on in a calm uninterrupted tranquillity, with respect to my tuition, my family, and my studies, to the spring of 1786, when I was seized with a pain in my left shoulder, from a grievance, of which no account could ever be given, and which, for *two entire years,* harasst me beyond measure, and almost beyond endurance, without material abatement: nor am I delivered from the apprehension of a return, or the occasional impressions of it, to this hour.

For *three weeks* I have not been able to lie down in bed for as many hours at one time, and, without opiates, could seldom procure ease or sleep.

> " Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,
> Tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas
> Ostendunt."[r]

[q] This sermon was afterwards published.

[r] Æn. I. 208.

Through such varieties of woe, we gain
That "land of promise" where no ills remain;
But Truth and Mercy endless bliss ordain.

An entire interruption of my studies was the necessary consequence of this unrelenting malady; except that I endeavoured to lull my pains in the earlier stages of this disorder, by writing some remarks on the poems of *Gray*, to which the publisher prefixed a life of the poet without my knowledge, and without the consent of it's author, who, on occasion of this literary depredation (equally displeasing to myself and the aggrieved party) wrote me an angry letter. Some other articles were huddled together at the end without my approbation.

The only fruits of this publication, which was indulged with the warm encomiums of all the periodical journals of that time, were a *single copy* for myself.

The "*Georgics of Virgil*" also afforded my mind some alleviation in this distress. An enthusiastic admiration of the finest poem of the most accomplished poet in the universe, next to the studies and consolations of religion, furnisht the most powerful alleviation of this series of sorrows.

A consideration of the very disadvantageous circumstances, in which that publication

was prepared for the press, will dispose the candid critic to make suitable allowances of exculpation for it's many inaccuracies and imperfections. Some of the criticisms need no apology, and will be received by the ablest judges with gratification and applause.

And in this place, where I am mentioning a work printed at their press, it becomes me to declare the liberality with which the *University of Cambridge* usually conducts publications of this nature: the recital of which cannot fail to reflect upon them abundant honour from the learned of all denominations.

The work is proposed to the *syndics* or *curators* of the University press. One of their body is requested to read it, in order to form an estimate of it's merits, and to judge of the expediency of printing it, with respect to the credit or discredit of the work to their body, and the university at large. Upon his approbation the work is consigned to the press; the whole expence is defrayed by the university, and the entire copy presented *gratis* to the author.

The only interference of the *syndicate* on these occasions is, to fix the price of the volume, which is usually, but not much, below the current rate; that the public, on one hand,

may be accommodated, and on the other, no inducement holden out to the speculating monopolisers of these articles of trade.

Some *typographical* inaccuracies deform this edition of the *Georgics*, from trusting the correction of the press to others, who indeed ought not to be expected to submit to such an irksome task.

It would be a very reasonable indulgence to us poor authors, were the legislature to suffer our *proofs* to be conveyed free, like newspapers, in a case open at each end for the prevention of fraud. Surely it would reflect no dishonour on any government to shew at least, this trivial token of it's respect for *letters*. Nor would the revenue be materially impaired. Many are induced to relinquish publication altogether, or to defer their schemes of authorship to a time which never arrives, rather than encounter the enormous expences of such a reciprocation of postage as a work of any length requires; and thus that paper is not used which is productive to government by it's consumption. This is a very serious inconvenience to many; and I am one who speak feelingly upon the subject, from experiment.

I wish some statesman of taste and magnanimity would stand our friend: these qualities

have taken up their residence with *Mr. Fox*, who would perform a congenial service in attempting the accomplishment of our relief.

The debility of mind and body occasioned by the malady mentioned above, rendered a suitable attention to my pupils an absolute impossibility. I retained one only, *Mr. Robert Hibbert*, the cousin of my former patron, who was soon to be transferred to the university. The society of this ingenuous and amiable youth[s] was a source of perpetual satisfaction; and he usually past his vacations with me till the completion of his *academical* career in his *first degree.*

I tried change of air at *Richmond* and at *Scarborough*; but *Time* was to me the master physician that, in the words of *Sophocles*, "made all things easy."[t]

[s] The generous token of regard and gratitude which Mr. Wakefield received from this gentleman, under circumstances that rendered it peculiarly acceptable, will be mentioned in the continuation of these memoirs.

[t] Χρονος γαρ ευμαρης θεος. Elect. 180. W.

CHAP. XV.

Remarks on Bishop Horsley—Four Marks of Antichrist—"Internal Evidences of Christianity"—Silva Critica—Ventriloquist—Mr. Heywood.

1788, 1789.

In the beginning of the year 1788 I was induced to animadvert with all the severity, which, in my apprehension, the occasion required, on some of the pompous inanities[u] of

[u] The Apostles were, by infinite degrees, the best informed of all philosophers, says our learned polemic.

"This position, if it were true, would invalidate the capital argument for the truth of Christianity—an argument perpetually insisted on by the sacred writers; namely, that the gospel was not indebted to the information of philosophers for it's establishment, but to *plain unlettered men* (Acts iv. 13), proclaiming the intelligence of their *senses*, and exhibiting in attendant miracles the power of God, as a complete demonstration of their veracity. (1 Cor. i. 27. ii. 5. 2 Cor. iv. 7.)

"But the position, my lord, is unquestionably and absolutely false. Read the lives of Christ and the Apostles, as recorded by the four evangelists: read the history of the first preaching of Christianity, as related in the *Acts of the Apostles*: produce me, if you can, but a *single proof* that the Apostles were possessed of one truth in *Science* or *Philosophy*, after

Dr. Horsley, now *Bishop* of *Rochester*,[x] in an *ordination sermon* preached before *Dr. Samuel*

our Lord's ascension, which they were not acquainted with before, and I will take shame and ignominy to myself, as ignorant and prejudiced in the extreme. They preached what they had *seen*, and *heard*, and *felt*. (1 John, i. 1.) This was *experience*, not *philosophy*.—They needed no philosophy; they had none. The position is, indeed, grossly untrue; subversive of the fundamental support of revelation; loudly contradicted by the lives of the Apostles, by the positive and express declarations of *scripture*, by the whole spirit and œconomy of the gospel. Nay, so jealous was the divine projector and conductor of his own supremacy in this grand undertaking, of any intermixture of human influence, that he would not admit the services of the learned Apostle of the Gentiles, till the Christian revelation had been openly proclaimed and decisively authenticated by *Fishermen* and *Publicans*, rude in speech, and weak in knowledge. And yet shall *Dr. Horsley* be bold enough to affirm, that the Apostles were, by *infinite degrees*, the *best informed* of all *philosophers!*—My lord, I feel myself impelled by my love and reverence of Christianity to interfere on this occasion, and to reprobate such a solemn paradox, so unspeakably absurd in itself, and so flagrantly injurious to the cause of revelation, with all the vehemence of censure.

"What our divine has advanced in his twelfth and thirteenth pages upon the utility of *human learning* * has so much my approbation, as to make me lament that he did not wholly

[x] Since translated to *St. Asaph*.

* See Paley's Moral Philosophy, II. 306, &c. ed. 2.

Hallifax, then *Bishop of Gloucester*, to whom my "Remarks" were addressed "in a letter."

confine his efforts to the illustration and enforcement of this topic on the gaping *catechumens*. There was no need, I will maintain, of learning to the *first publishers* of our religion: *facts* were their propositions, and *miracles* their proofs. But *our* hopes, in these later ages, rest upon the *written* records of those transactions. In proportion, therefore, to our acquaintance with history, to our capacity to estimate its credibility, to our knowledge of the human mind, to our acquaintance with human languages, to our sobriety and strength of judgment, to the fidelity of our memory, the comprehensiveness of our understandings, and the promptness of our eloquence;—in proportion, I say, to our intellectual endowments, co-operating with that essential principle, *singleness of heart*, will be our ability to discover, and explain, and illustrate, and recommend, the genuine doctrines of the evangelical dispensation.

"After some very questionable insinuations respecting the *present* existence of a *divine commission* for an ordination to the ministry, our author enlarges again, with infinite complacency, upon the prodigious acquirements of the *plain men* (Ἰδιῶται) of *Nazareth*, in terms of exaggeration so supremely ridiculous, as almost make it impossible for a candid man to suppose him serious. 'The Apostles and primitive teachers,' says he, 'were *profound metaphysicians*, the *best of moralists*, *well-informed historians*, *accurate logicians*, and *excellent* in a peculiar strain of *eloquence*.' I can affirm, with great honesty and seriousness, that I never read, in the whole course of my life, a more ludicrous specimen of pompous inanity—a declaration more extravagantly romantic, more ridiculously contemptible. That any person can have perused with atten-

He had been an acquaintance of my father's, and a fellow of our college, to whom I was not unknown.

It is most sincerely regretted by me that the dispositions of *Bishop Horsley* should have been warped either by pride, ambition, or selfishness, to such an excessive obliquity as displays itself throughout his writings. The native vigour of his faculties, his various knowledge, his elegant and nervous style, and his ingenuity of invention, might have been happily employed to the advancement of science, and to the confirmation and recommendation of the *Christianity* of the *Scriptures.*

It is a miserable reverse to these glorious utilities, to sell one's self to a *system*, and to be occupied in the drudgery of an *establishment* for the sake of the rewards. Talk not to me of a concern for religion, and a veneration for truth, when a man is already in possession of great preferment,[y] and is expecting more.

tion the scriptures of the *New Testament*, and have finished his meditations in them with such impressions and sentiments as *these*, is to me, I own, perfectly incomprehensible."

Remarks on Dr. Horsley's Ordination-Sermon, in a Letter to the Lord Bishop of Gloucester (the late Dr. Halifax), by Gilbert Wakefield, B. A. 1788, pp. 9, 10, &c.

y "Lucre diverteth and interrupteth the prosecution and

Reason and Philosophy can accept with confidence no declarations of intègrity and conviction, when a bribe has been received.

" Discite; non inter lances mensasque nitentes,
Cùm stupet insanis acies fulgoribus, et cùm
Acclinis falsis animus meliora recusat:
Verùm hic impransi, mecum disquirite. Cur hoc?
Dicam, si potero. Malè verum examinat omnis
Corruptus Judex."[z]

" Let's talk, my friends! but talk before we dine:
Not, when a gilt buffet's reflected pride
Turns you from sound philosophy aside;
Not, when from plate to plate your eye-balls roll,
And the brain dances to the mantling bowl.[a]

Yet I allow, and am persuaded, that many dignified clergymen are perfectly honest and sincere in professing the doctrines of the church; but it is an insult to the common

advancement of knowledge like unto the golden ball thrown before Atalanta, which while she goeth aside, and stoopeth to take up, the race is hindered."

Lord Bacon's " Adv. of Learning," book I.
(Works, vol. I. p. 21. 4to.)

" Thou shalt take no gift; for the gift blindeth the wise, and perverteth the word of the righteous." Exod. xxiii. 8.
W.

[z] Hor. Sat. II. 2. 4.

[a] Pope.

sense of mankind, in every age, to call them *unprejudiced* and *proper* witnesses.[b] We should recollect the penetrating remark of the *Jewish* sage—"The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked."

I would not wish the reader to infer from the following observations that I am prepared to give an opinion upon the points in[c] dispute between this sturdy polemic, *Dr. Horsley*, and his antagonist *Dr. Priestley*; because, in truth, I have not read the performances of either on the controverted topics:

But one day, whilst I was waiting in a library alone, I opened our prelate's book in that part of it, in which he descants on the *Greek* word ἰδιωτης. I smiled within me to observe the craft with which this pretender to

[b] Clergymen, in other respects learned, intelligent, and inquisitive, but bigotted on the subject of ecclesiastical forms and discipline, and ignorant of the enlarged principles of that religious "liberty with which Christ has made us free," * and with which the happiness of mankind is so essentially connected, may be compared to the moth, which is unable to see in the blaze of day, and by night is eager to run into every taper that it discovers. W.

[c] See Horsley's "Tracts in Controversy with Dr. Priestley, &c." and Priestley's "Defences of Unitarianism." 1790.

* Gal. v. 1.

philological precision had ramified the significations of this poor word[d] in all the ostentation of technical parade.

In the autumn of this year, 1788, I published, without my name, a short tract under the title of "FOUR MARKS OF ANTICHRIST, or a Supplement to the Warburtonian Lecture." My object in this little effort was to point out four characteristics of genuine Christianity incompatible with the doctrines and constitution of the Church of England; in doing which I unaccountably neglected to mention my ob-

[d] The term has *two* senses only, and is incapable of more. It's *primary* meaning is a *man in a private station*; it's *secondary*, that *character* which a man in private station usually exhibits.

In such displays as these, the object of our artificer of disputation was (I should suppose) after cannonading the castle of these non-conformist *idiots* with a volley of shot from his pedantic battery, to advance under the cover of the smoke, and take the fastnesses by storm, without the tediousness of a regular approach by the mines of argument or the lodgments of confutation.

"I cannot but," with Lord Barrington, "have a very mean opinion of writers, who will put on the appearance of assurance and certainty, that they may carry the guise of perfect knowledge and judgment to the bulk of their readers, where they are far from being at that certainty which they affect. And every one must have a worse opinion of those who give themselves this air only to serve private or party views." W.

ligations to *Mr. Evanson's Letter to Bishop Hurd.*

But the reader may possibly be curious to know upon what inducement *I*, of all men living, so unsuitably to my disposition and the general tenour of my life, once more* sent into the world an *anonymous* publication; and adopted a practice, not very allowable, in my opinion, when a man presumes to find fault, in terms of such vehemence, with the conduct and sentiments of his neighbours.

For this procedure I will ingenuously state my reasons, with the utmost simplicity and clearness; not much perhaps to the credit of my *prudence* with the wary sons of circumspection and design.

In the *first* place, I had lived long enough in the world to be sensible of the magical influence of *a name* in recommending a book to public notice, or in retarding it's advances to a popular reception.

For once, therefore, I felt an inclination to try how an ambiguous title upon a very interesting subject would operate on the public. The reviewers, I think, gave a creditable criticism upon the performance, though they spoke

* See p. 98.

of the gall in which the writer had dipped his pen.

The scheme, however, did not answer. Very few indeed were ever sold; but more since it was known to be mine than before.

I believe, in accounting for the general infelicity of my publications, two other causes should be considered; the one is, a scarcity of advertising, to which I am driven by the enormity of the expence,[f] which would readily swallow up all the profits of my little productions; and the other, the want of that zeal which a well-accustomed bookseller will exercise in the sale of works worthy of his purchase.

My *second* and principal inducement to the suppression of my name, at the publication of that pamphlet, was, an unwillingness to disgust my good friends at *Cambridge*; or to speak more properly, a fear of irritating them to such a degree, by my rudeness to "the great goddess Diana, whom all Asia worshippeth,"[g] as

[f] "Poverty is a disease which rages as much and as frequently in the republic of letters as the plague in Constantinople." JORTIN. Remarks on Eccl. Hist. II. 29.

W.

[g] Acts xix. 27.

might incline them to withdraw from me their patronage [h] and good opinion.

This I own was to me a very serious consideration. For as the state of my affairs would not allow me to publish my *criticisms* at my own hazard, this most pleasing employment of my time, liberal in itself, and possibly not altogether unimportant to good letters, would be absolutely superseded: for what can animate our exertions but *Hope?* and who will be laborious with a daily and nightly perseverance, merely for the sake of *occupation*, without the prospect of any advantage, but a selfish gratification of taste?

At the top of my literary articles for the year 1789, stand "Remarks on the internal Evidence of the Christian Religion:" a work which might gain approbation, at least for it's good intentions towards religion, from every class of Christians.

The journalists of the day were candid and liberal in their character of this performance, which was written from the heart, and has been applauded by some whose capacities of judgment cannot be disputed.

[h] Which proved afterwards to be the case, as will appear in the continuation of these memoirs.

Even the Christian religion, however, seems but a dull subject in the apprehensions of the present age: so that the difference to me is not very material, whether I write *for Christianity* or *against* the *Church*. My *piping* produces no *dance*, and my *mourning* no *lamentation*.

I question not but the internal evidences of our *establishment* would suit more prelates than the internal evidences of the gospel. But I shall not hastily make the experiment. The cry then would be Ανω ποταμων χωρουσι παγαι.[1]

A small impression of this pamphlet was not sold off till 1793, when it was reprinted with many additions.

In June of the same year, came forth from the *Cambridge* press the first part of a work, entitled "Silva Critica, sive in auctores sacros profanosque commentarius philologus."

[1] Eurip. "Med." 411. edit. Pors. Hesychius, at the words ανω ποταμων.

The streams flow upwards.

——"Ante leves pascentur in æthere cervi,
Et freta destituent nudos in littore pisces."
VIRG. Ec. I. 60. W.

"Sooner the stag in fields of air shall feed,
Seas leave on naked shores the scaly breed."
WARTON.

My grand intention in the plan of this work was the union of theological and classical learning—the illustration of the *scriptures* by light borrowed from the philology of *Greece* and *Rome*; as a probable method of recommending the books of revelation to the notice of scholars; and thus promoting in the world at the same time a *profitable heathenism* (if I may be indulged in this singularity of expression for the sake of brevity) and a rational theology.

I have been long persuaded, that with honest minds, superior to the sordid allurements of interest, the capital obstacle to a tolerably general uniformity of sentiment on the fundamental points of Christianity, is the slender acquaintance, which even the ministers and professors of the gospel themselves have made with the *original* language of the *New Testament*. These sacred oracles of divine truth are usually apprehended through the medium of an interpreter, and, of course, address themselves to the understanding with a certain portion of ambiguity and mysticism. "They verily speak well, but we are not edified."[k]

Besides too many Christians are apt to con-

[k] 1 Corinth. xiv. 17.

ceive of the *Old* and *New Testaments* as compositions not to be studied and discussed like ordinary writings: which gross misconception is a serious hindrance to just ideas of Christianity. As soon as the common rules of criticism shall be generally applied to the *scriptures*, and every portion of them estimated and examined with a freedom of discussion, unawed by the apprehensions of a foolish superstition, Truth will advance with rapid strides on her career throughout the world, and the prediction will be daily accelerating to it's accomplishment: that "The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."[1]

About this time, I met with an opportunity, which I had long wished for in vain, of witnessing a most extraordinary *ventriloquist*. I heard him in the street alarming the multitude with his mysterious ejaculations, and brought him home with me for a satisfactory examination of this uncommon faculty.

He was a man of about *thirty* years of age. He told me that he had accidentally perceived his ability to speak in this manner about two

[1] Isaiah xi. 9.

years before, and since the first discovery had much improved it, in producing louder and distincter tones. By some peculiar conformation, I presume, of the organs, he could speak with the *inspiration* of the breath, and so throw a sound into his lungs. But the exertion was always accompanied with difficulty and fatigue.

When the voice was loudest, he used to turn gradually from the company to conceal the motion of his lips, and to favour the deception, as if the noise proceeded from his belly. As he stood in the middle of the room, and occasionally conversed in his natural tone of voice, when he spoke inwardly and in a fainter accent, the spectator would, of course, according to the uniform habit with respect to sounds in such a case, refer this feebler voice to a remoter station, and conceive of it as issuing from a corner, or some other point beyond the man. This is the whole of the mystery, and this solution will account for that singular phænomenon in all the variety of it's exhibition.[m]

[m] These people were called by the Greeks ἐγγαστριμυθοι, belly-speakers; by the *Hebrews* and *Chaldees* אבות, from the swelling of the belly in speaking; whence the *Latin* "*Obba*" in *Persius*, V. 148.

I now frequently amused myself during my solitary walks with translating the *odes of Horace.* Some of them were occasionally published in one of the magazines, and I have since reprinted them with several others in a small volume of "Poetical Translations."

In July 1789, our society at *Nottingham,* composed of a select number of friends, congenial in sentiment and dispositions, was impaired by an irreparable calamity in the death of our associate, *Mr. Samuel Heywood,* attorney at law, a native of *Mansfield,* in this county.

The loss indeed of this most excellent person was not confined to the narrow circle of our society. From the peculiar posture of affairs at that time in *Nottingham,* from the great influence which his station would have superadded to talents and virtues, capable of com-

There is a sort of possession among the *blacks* in *Jamaica*; and under it's imaginary influence nothing can console these unhappy victims, or induce them to receive sustenance: they abandon themselves irrecoverably to despair. These people call this affection having OBY; the same word, I make no doubt, as the above *oriental* term. We are not sure how the inhabitants of the *East* might pronounce the first letter of the alphabet: not to mention the frequent commutation for each other of the *A* and *O,* particularly in the *Æthiopic* language.

W.

manding respect, and operating to public usefulness in almost any situation; and from his unimpeachable character in a profession eminently serviceable within it's sphere of action, when conducted by integrity: no estimate could easily be formed of the loss which the community at large sustained by his death.

No event of my whole life impresst on my mind a more forcible conviction of the unsearchable counsels of the *divine Government*, and a more awful admiration of that stupendous wisdom, which baffles every effort of human sagacity in attempting to account for the tardy progress of the world to the maturity of happiness and virtue. The plant is blighted after kindly germinating and putting forth it's blossoms in the full promise of future plenty, merely, it should seem, in aggravation of our disappointment.

I believe that this sad event imprinted on the bosom of *Mr. Heywood's* friends those traces of regret, which even the operations of time will be unable to obliterate.

> " Each pensive hour shall thee restore;
> For thee the tear be duly shed:
> Belov'd till life can charm no more;
> And mourn'd till Pity's self be dead." [n]

[n] Collins's Dirge in Cymb.

We paid the last tribute of affection to our friend by erecting a mural monument of marble, in *St. Mary's Church*, to perpetuate the memory of his worth and our esteem with the duration at least of perishable stone.

Το γαρ γερας εστι θανοντων.°

For this reward the dead may justly claim.

As the epitaph was composed by me, at the request of our society, and exhibits the true character of an ornament to his species, I shall insert it here.

To the memory of
Mr. SAMUEL HEYWOOD,
Attorney at law in this town,
Who died July 25, 1789, aged 34.
As a man
Eminently respectable in his day,
And worthy to be remembered by posterity;
In his profession,
Intelligent, liberal, and uncorrupt;
As a son, a husband, and a brother,
His duty, gratitude, love, and kindness
Could not be exceeded;
His sprightliness and affability,
The ease, urbanity, and cheerfulness
Of his conversation,

° Hom. Od. XXIV. 295.

United with firmness of mind,
With a vigorous and cultivated understanding,
Unwarped by prejudice, and undisturbed by passion,
Endeared him to society.
These excellencies were heightened
By the principles of religion,
At once manly, rational, and sincere.

A few friends,
Who deeply regret his loss,
Testify their affection,
And soothe their sorrow,
By this memorial
Of his virtues.

CHAP. XVI.

Nottingham Gaol—Slave Trade—Capital Punishments—Bishop Horsley—Bishop Hallifax—Test Act.

1789, 1790.

In 1789, I was appointed chairman of a committee in *Nottingham*, which was selected from a number of the most respectable inhabitants, whose object was to compel the corporation to construct a more commodious and healthy *town gaol*,[p] and in that capacity I sent

[p] From a variety of papers which we have perused on the subject, it appears that Mr. Wakefield was associated with many of the principal inhabitants of *Nottingham*, in order to promote the accomplishment of this important object, which was sanctioned by the decided opinion of the two physicians of the town. For the space of several months, his time and close attention were occupied by this affair, which occasioned a correspondence of some length between him, as chairman of the committee, and the present Lord Carrington, his brother Mr. Smith, and Mr. D. Parker Coke.

The zeal and energy with which Mr. Wakefield acted in this business, though unfortunately for the cause of humanity, not crowned with success, shewed how ready he was to sacrifice his own ease and his own studies, when there ap-

an account of our proceedings to both the members for the town.

As the parliamentary conduct of one of them, *Daniel Parker Coke, Esq.*, had been in general conformable to my wishes, and as his demeanour on every other occasion within my knowledge indicated a man of spirit, sense, and principle, I took the liberty of expostulating, in terms of considerable energy, upon the vote which he had given on the questions of the *Test Act* and the *Slave-Trade*, as unworthy of his character and accomplishments. He accepted my freedom of rebuke with a magnanimity that increased my good opinion of him; modestly confesst himself unequal to a discussion of those topics with me; and promised to weigh my arguments in particular, when those questions should be again agitated in the house.

peared a reasonable prospect of promoting by his exertions the welfare and interests of others.

The same ardent wishes to meliorate the condition of prisoners, whom Mr. W. in another place, speaks of as "the despised men of the earth"—as "a wretched, forsaken, and uninstructed portion of his fellow-creatures," led him in a later period of his life, especially after having had too much *personal* acquaintance with their afflictions, to interest himself again in their behalf; as may be seen in the "Continuation" of these "Memoirs."

The reader must not impute to me the presumption of supposing that I had influenced *Mr. Coke's* convictions with respect to the fact which I am now going to adduce, because his own innate candour and liberality are fully adequate to the effect in question.

As counsel at *Warwick assizes*, after the diabolical transactions at *Birmingham*, in 1791, this gentleman acquitted himself in a manner equal to the fondest wishes of the most ardent lover of religious liberty, and is entitled to every acknowledgment in our power for his laudable exertions.[q]

Among other observations on the *Slave-Trade*, I adduced *two* unequivocal universal maxims, one *Christian* and one *heathen*, applicable to every subject of politics, morality, and religion, which admit of no confutation, and lie within the compass of the feeblest apprehension to conceive.

I. "Evil is not to be committed that good may come;" because the evil is *certain*, and the good *contingent* and *hypothetical*:[r] and be-

[q] See the Report of the Trials of the Rioters at Birmingham in New Ann. Reg. for 1791, vol. XII. (37).

[r] "Men must pursue things which are just in present, and leave the future to the Divine Providence."

Ld. Bacon. Adv. of Learning, book II. Works, 4to. I. 99. W.

cause the designs of the divine administration and the happiness of mankind cannot be promoted by evil, that is, by the violation of those very laws which constitute the only means of happiness.

This maxim answers, at once, every argument of *political expediency*.[1] We cannot listen

[1] *Gisborne*, in reply to the argument frequently urged in favour of the Slave-Trade, that "the interest of the kingdom requires it's continuance," observes—"And is the interest of the kingdom to be supported by depriving unoffending foreigners of their rights; by an uniform succession of outrages against humanity and justice? What would have been robberies and murders if committed by single highwaymen, are they not still robberies and murders, though the perpetrators have previously coalesced into a troop, a society, or a nation? It is a momentous truth, and a truth little regarded, that the rules of morality are as binding on nations as on individuals; and that our obligations as *Englishmen* are subordinate to our duty as *Christians*."

Principles of Mor. Phil. &c. 2d edit. p. 154.

"The natives (of Africa) are excited to war and mutual depredation, for the sake of supplying their contracts, or furnishing the market with slaves. With this the wickedness begins. The slaves, torn away from parents, wives, children, from their friends and companions, their fields and flocks, their home and country, are transported to the European settlements in America, with no other accommodation on shipboard, than what is provided for brutes. This is the second stage of cruelty from which the miserable exiles are delivered, only to be placed, and that for life, in subjection to a dominion and system of laws, the most merciless and tyrannical

to the plea one moment. No political expediency, whose basis is *Evil*, or an actual and open transgression of an express, universal, immutable, and undeniable rule of rectitude; can terminate in national utility.

II. "Fiat justitia, ruat cœlum:" *Let justice be done though the sky should fall upon us.*

This indubitable sentiment furnishes a complete answer to all the suggestions of *probable inconveniences*[t] that may result from the

that ever were tolerated upon the face of the earth: and from all that can be learned by the accounts of the people upon the spot, the inordinate authority which the plantation laws confer upon the slave-holder is exercised, by the *English* slave-holder especially, with rigour and brutality.

"But *necessity* is pretended—the name under which every enormity is attempted to be justified. And, after all, what is the necessity? It has never been proved that the land could not be cultivated there, as it is here, by hired servants. It is said that it could not be cultivated with quite the same conveniency and cheapness as by the labour of slaves: by which means a pound of sugar, which the planter now sells for sixpence, could not be afforded under sixpence halfpenny; and this is the *necessity*."

PALEY'S Mor. Phil. I. p. 237, edit. 8.

[t] The following observation of Dr. FRANKLIN, on the practice of impressing seamen, is equally applicable to the case of *Slaves*:

"Inconvenience to the whole trade of a nation will not justify injustice to a single seaman. If the trade would suffer without his service, it is able and ought to be willing to offer

abolition of the *Slave Trade*. Let these be as numerous and as formidable as you please, they must be encountered in preference to injustice and oppression. Comply first with the laws of the *Supreme Being*, and leave consequences to his management. He is very able to execute all the ends of his administration without the instrumentality of our wickedness, and is delighted with nothing so much as our endeavours to promote the happiness of our fellow-men, especially the desolate and oppressed. We are *then* co-operating with himself: for the grand design of his government is the ultimate felicity of all his creatures.

But *conviction* is the last thing wanted upon this subject. A contempt for sordid lucre in comparison with virtue, an abhorrence of fraud, robbery,[u] and murder, as unavoidably con-

him such wages as may induce him to afford his service *voluntarily*."

See Dr. FRANKLIN's Remarks on Judge Foster's "Argument in favour of impressing Seamen." Works, vol. II. p. 157. edit. 12mo. 1793.

[u] "It is a further degree, or even a higher species of oppression, of which some are said to be guilty; not indeed in this island, but in countries subject to the government of Great Britain. They, who are slaves there, if a late author may be credited, 'endure a slavery more compleat, and attended with far worse circumstances, than what any people in their condi-

nected with this horrid traffic, are the grand *desiderata*. As we are men and *Christians* then, let us wash our hands from the stains of human

tion suffer in any other part of the world, or have suffered in any other period of time.' (Burke's Eur. Sett. II. 124. ed. 3.) The most consummate and perfect example of oppression and inhumanity has been reserved then, it seems, to be exhibited in these enlightened times, by the subjects of this free and Christian nation! Let us turn our eyes for relief to some ordinary wickedness.'"

OGDEN. Sermon on "Thou shalt not steal." P. 243.

"There are men who hardly scruple to avow the opinion, that in public deliberations the prohibitions of the moral law ought often to be disregarded when opposed to national advantage; and there are statesmen who have avowedly acted upon that dangerous principle in regard to the slave-trade; holding that it's abolition or continuance was a question to be decided rather by considerations of expediency, than by the dictates of humanity and justice."

"Of course it is in vain to reason with such men in public life, upon principles of mere moral obligation, whether Christian or Pagan. They will neither reprobate with St. Paul the doing evil that good may ensue; nor hold with a heathen statesman—'In eadem re utilitas et turpitudo esse non potest—hoc ipsum utile putare quod turpe sit, calamitosum est.' (Cic. de Off. iii.) The book of entries is their bible; and a custom-house officer at the bar, with an account of exports in his hand,

'Plenius ac melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit.'"

"The Crisis of the Sugar Colonies," &c. 1802, p. 165.

blood, and no longer sport with the life, liberty, and happiness of *millions of our species.*[x]

[x] "In the *British* islands alone there are upwards of four hundred thousand human beings, of whom much the greatest part live most literally without God in the world; without any knowledge of a Creator or Redeemer; without any one principle either of natural or revealed religion; without the idea of one moral duty, except that of performing their daily task, and escaping the scourge that constantly hangs over them."

Bishop PORTEUS's Sermon on the Civilization, Improvement, &c. of the Negro Slaves in the British Islands, vol. I. p. 389, edit. 8.

"It is peculiarly incumbent on the people of this kingdom to exert their utmost liberality in alleviating the miseries, both temporal and spiritual, of the wretched Africans; since they have been for many years (till interrupted by the late war, *i.e.* the American war) more largely concerned in the inhuman merchandize of men, and have imported more slaves into the colonies, than any other nation in Europe. By their means, principally, have many thousands, many millions, of human creatures been torn from their native land, from every blessing that was valuable, every connexion that was dear to them; and, after passing in their voyage through incredible hardships and difficulties (under which great numbers of them actually perish) have been landed in a country and among a people unknown to them; and, without any offence of theirs, have been doomed to a perpetual servitude, a servitude too which they leave (the only inheritance which they *have* to leave) entailed on their latest posterity."

Bishop PORTEUS, ubi supra, p. 411.

" Shame to mankind! but shame to BRITONS most,
Who all the sweets of Liberty can boast;
Yet, deaf to every human claim, deny
That bliss to others, which themselves enjoy:
Life's bitter draught with harsher bitter fill;
Blast every joy, and add to every ill;
The trembling limbs with galling iron bind,
Nor loose the heavier bondage of the mind.
" Yet whence these horrors? this inhuman rage,
That brands with blackest infamy the age?

How mild, in contrast with the rigour that has been so generally exercised in the *British Islands*, are many of the laws and regulations established in the colonies of other European nations? Of this the following account of a most benevolent one, said to have been established in the Spanish settlement at the Havannah, is a striking instance:

" As soon as a slave is landed, his name, price, &c. are entered in a public register; and the master is obliged by law to allow him one working-day in every week to himself, besides Sunday; so that if he chooses to work for his master on that day, he receives the wages of a freeman for it; and whatever he gains by his labour on that day is so secured to him by law, that the master cannot deprive him of it. As soon as the slave is able to purchase another working-day, the master is obliged to sell it to him at a proportionable price—viz. one-fifth part of his original cost; and so likewise the remaining four days, at the same rate, as soon as the slave is able to redeem them: after which he is absolutely free."

Bishop PORTEUS, ubi sup. p. 402, Note; and Sharp's Appendix to " the Just Limitation of Slavery," &c. p. 53, referred to by the bishop.

Is it, our varied interests disagree,
And BRITAIN sinks, if AFRIC's sons be free?
—No—Hence a few superfluous stores we claim,
That tempt our avarice, but increase our shame;
The sickly palate touch with more delight,
Or swell the senseless riot of the night." [y]

During my abode at *Nottingham* I never failed to attend all the *capital punishments* that took place there; courting, at all times, every circumstance which might read me a wholesome lecture on mortality, or suggest an additional motive of gratitude to GOD for the comforts of my own condition.

I am cordially persuaded, upon a most serious, most frequent, and most mature contemplation of this subject, that, if a general reformation of the *penal code* cannot be effected in our nation, this is one of those enormous sins[z] for which the Governor of the Universe

[y] Roscoe's Mount Pleasant.

[z] Men are imprisoned, punished, and executed, in this country, on the evidence of a *single* witness (see Blackstone, IV. ch. 27)—a most direct infraction of the divine law delivered to Moses.

"One witness shall not rise up against a man for any iniquity, or for any sin, in any sin that he sinneth; at the mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses, shall the matter be established."—Deut. xix. 15; see also xvii. 6; and Numbers, xxxv. 30; and recognised by Christ: see Matt. xviii. 16. W.

will surely visit us. No man and no community of men are, in my judgment, authorized to *take away life.* And what shadow of excuse can possibly be alleged for sacrificing such a multitude[a] of lives, and often for trivial of-

"Though the end of punishment is to deter men from offending, it never can follow from thence, that it is lawful to deter them at any rate, and by any means; since there may be unlawful methods of enforcing obedience even to the justest laws."

"To shed the blood of our fellow-creature is a matter that requires the greatest deliberation, and the fullest conviction of our own authority: for life is the immediate gift of God to man, which neither he can resign, nor can it be taken from him, unless by the command or permission of him who gave it; either expressly revealed, or collected from the laws of nature or society *by clear and indisputable demonstration.*"

BLACKSTONE. Comm. book IV. cap. I.

[a] It is observed by Mr. Wakefield in another place, "When *Mirabeau* was in *England*, about nine years ago, he asked a friend of mine, with whom he was dining, if it were true that *twenty young men* had been hanged that morning at Newgate. When my friend told him, that, if the daily papers asserted it, there was no reason to doubt the assertion; he replied, with great warmth and surprise, that the *English* were the most merciless people he had ever heard or read of in his life." See "Remarks on the general Orders of the Duke of York," 1794, p. 13, note.—It appears that *Mirabeau* was in *England* in 1785. In *February* of that year *Twenty* Convicts were executed, at once, before Newgate; in *April, Nineteen*; and in the *November* following *Eighteen* suffered death at the same place, besides others executed during the several months

fences,[b] without employing a single effort for their *reformation*, when plans for this purpose

of that year amounting in the whole to nearly *One Hundred*, many of them *young* persons, who fell a sacrifice to the severity of the penal statutes, *in London alone—not one of them under a charge of murder.*"

See New Ann. Reg. v. VI. for 1785.

Surely this dreadfully-anthentic statement might justify Mr. Wakefield's language, when he laments that "We tie up a fellow-creature with as much indifference as if he were a being of an inferior order." "Remarks," &c. p. 12.

[b] "The first thing which strikes one upon entering on this task, is this melancholy truth, that, 'among the variety of actions which men are daily liable to commit, no less than an hundred and sixty have been declared by act of parliament to be felonies without benefit of clergy, or, in other words, to be worthy of instant death.' (4 Blackstone, Com. 18.) When we come to enquire into the nature of the crimes of which this dreadful catalogue is composed, we find it contain transgressions which scarcely deserve corporal punishment, while it omits enormities of the most atrocious kind. We find in it actions, to which nothing but the terror of some impending danger to the state could ever have given a criminal appearance,* and obsolete offences, whose existence we learn only from those statutes, which are still left standing as bloody monuments of our history, though the causes which gave rise

* 35 Eliz. c. 1. § 3. 35 Eliz. c. 2. § 10. 39 Eliz. c. 17.

It is to such laws as these that one may apply the observation of Lord Bacon, that "there are a number of ensnaring penal laws which lie upon the subject, and if they should be awaked and put in execution, would grind them to powder." (Proposal for amending the Laws.)

have been pointed out (capable perhaps of much improvement), and practised with success in other countries?[c] Who does not discover the manifest tendency of such indiscriminate destruction to outrage lesser criminals, and produce, to the great terror of society, the excesses of violence and cruelty?[d]

to them have long since ceased. We see the invasion of a man's property, though but to a small amount, and unaccompanied by violence, treated as the greatest of all enormities. To steal a sheep or a horse, to snatch a man's property out of his hand and run away with it, to steal to the amount of forty shillings in a dwelling-house, or to the amount of five shillings privately in a shop, nay, to pick a man's pocket of the value of only twelvepence halfpenny, are all crimes punishable with death."

Observations on Madan's Thoughts on Executive Juftice, 12mo. 1786. p. 16, &c.

This valuable and highly interesting work has frequently been ascribed to the late John Lee, esq.

[c] "Was the vast territory of all the *Russias* worse regulated under the late *Empress Elizabeth* than under her more sanguinary predecessors? Is it now under *Catharine II.* less civilized, less social, less secure? And yet we are assured that neither of these illustrious princesses have, throughout their whole administration, inflicted the penalty of death: and the latter has, upon full persuasion of it's being useless, nay even pernicious, given orders for abolishing it entirely throughout her extensive dominions."

BLACKSTONE, Comm. book IV. cap. I.

[d] "Lenity should be the guardian of moderate govern-

I was once present at the execution of a man of undaunted firmness, and (saving this

ments: severe penalties, the instruments of despotism, may give a sudden check to temporary evils; but they have a tendency to extend themselves to every class of crimes, and their frequency hardens the sentiment of the people."

Principles of Penal Law, by WILLIAM EDEN, Esq. (now *Lord Auckland*) 3d edit. p. 13.

" All punishment is an evil, but is yet necessary, to prevent crimes, which are a greater evil. Whenever the legislature therefore appoints for any crime a punishment more severe than is requisite to prevent the commission of it, it is the author of unnecessary evil. If it do this knowingly, it is chargeable with wanton cruelty and injustice; if from ignorance, and the want of a proper attention to the subject, it is guilty of a very criminal neglect. If these principles be just, the legislature of Great Britain must, in one or other of these ways, be culpable, unless it be impossible to prevent theft, by any punishment less severe than death. The author of " Thoughts on Executive Justice" seems to think that it is impossible, and that these severities are therefore to be justified on the ground of necessity. But experience shews the erroneousness of this opinion, because in several European states, where the punishment of death is never inflicted but for the most atrocious crimes, these lesser offences are very rare; while in *England*, where they are punished with death, we see them every day committed; and when, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, so many criminals were executed, that their numbers were computed to amount to two thousand every year, crimes seemed to multiply with the number of executions. ' So dreadful a list of capital crimes,' says *Mr. Justice Blackstone*, after having lamented that they are so numerous,

action of robbing a traveller of a few shillings, *without insult or ill usage*, under the seduction

' instead of diminishing, increases the number of offenders.' Nor is this a phænomenon very difficult to be accounted for: in proportion as these spectacles are frequent, the impression which they make upon the public is faint, the effect of the example is lost, and the blood of many citizens is spilt, without any benefit to mankind. But this is not all; the frequent exhibition of these horrid scenes cannot be indifferent: if they do not reform they must corrupt. The spectators of them become familiarised with bloodshed, and learn to look upon the destruction of a fellow-creature with unfeeling indifference. They think, as the laws teach them to think, that the life of a fellow-citizen is of little value; and they imagine they see revenge sanctified by the legislature; for to what other motive can they ascribe the infliction of the severest punishments for the slightest injuries? And where the moral character is depraved, crimes must be frequent and atrocious."

Observations on Madan's Thoughts, &c. pp. 27, &c.

It is remarked by Dr. Franklin that " Montesquieu, who was himself a judge, so far from thinking that severe and excessive punishments prevent crimes, asserts, as quoted by our French writer, that

' L'atrocité des loix en empêche l'exécution.

' Lorsque la peine est sans mesure, on est souvent obligé de lui préférer l'impunité.

' Les causes de tous les relâchemens viennent de l'impunité des crimes, et non de la modération des peines.'

" It is said by those who know Europe generally, that there are more thefts committed and punished annually in England, than in all other nations put together."

Franklin's Works, ed. 12mo, II. p. 170.

of an hardened accomplice) of an unexceptionable character. He died, without bravado, and without obduracy, under a due sense of his awful situation, with the magnanimity of an hero; despising that merciless and unequal sentence which had brought him to this sad condition. "Had I known," says he, "that I should have suffered *thus* for *that* offence, I would not have so easily been taken." He was a man of *Herculean* strength, and capable of destroying half a dozen constables before he could have been secured.

I think, at the moment of his execution, I would have preferred his condition and his crime to that of the judge who condemned him.[e] It is not in *Athens* only that the laws

It is very remarkable that one of the first statutes even of our sanguinary Queen Mary recites in its preamble "that the state of every king consists more assuredly in the love of the subjects towards their prince, than in the dread of laws made with rigorous pains; and that laws made for the preservation of the commonwealth without great penalties are more often obeyed and kept, than laws made with extreme punishments."

BLACKSTONE. Com. book IV. ch. 1.

[e] "The learned, the judicious, the pious *Boerhaave* relates, that he never saw a criminal dragged to execution without asking himself, 'Who knows whether this man is not less culpable than me?' On the days when the prisons of this city are emptied into the grave, let every spectator of the dreadful

are written in human blood:[f] and those legislators and statesmen who slumber over these enormities, and use no effort for redressing them, are they not in reality justly chargeable with all their consequences?[g]

Have rulers no discernment that they are unable to discover the *multiplication* of capital offences from capital punishments? Destruc-

procession put the same question to his own heart. Few among those that crowd in thousands to the legal massacre, and look with carelessness, perhaps with triumph, on the utmost exacerbations of human misery, would then be able to return without horror and dejection. For who can congratulate himself upon a life passed without some act more mischievous to the peace or prosperity of others, than the theft of a piece of money?" Rambler, N° 114.

[f] If it be objected that almost all nations in all ages have punished certain crimes with death, I answer, that the force of these examples vanishes when opposed to truth, against which prescription is urged in vain."

BECCARIA on Crimes and Punishments, ch. 28. ed. 4th. 115.

[g] "Lawgivers should remember that they are mediately, and in effect, the executioners of every fellow-citizen who suffers death in consequence of any penal statute."

EDEN on the Penal Law, &c. p. 28.

"Hear him, ye Senates! hear this truth sublime,
He, who allows oppression, shares the crime."

DARWIN's Bot. Gar. Part II. c. 3.

tion is not redress. *One* head may be cut off, but two spring instantly from the wound.

Reformation must begin at a much higher point; in a moral education; in the rectification of crooked habits by patient discipline; in the suppression of all public incentives[h] to riot and intemperance; in the scrupulous correction of *small* offences; and in allotments of punishment proportionate to each transgression.[i]

[h] "His (*i. e.* Mr. Madan's) assertion that it is most of all to be wished, that crimes might be lessened by prevention, no man can dispute; but at the same time who can go on with him to say, that the most likely means of prevention are 'the fears of severe punishment?' Ought it not rather to be said, that the most likely means are, to preserve uncorrupted that large but unfortunate description of persons, who, being born in misery and indigence, and differing from us in nothing but the accidents of rank and fortune, are entitled to our utmost care and protection? For, if we negligently suffer a thousand sources of profligacy, and encouragements to vice to surround these helpless creatures on every side, what a refinement of cruelty is it to hang the thieves and profligates whom we have made, and whose only crime was, that they had not such uncommon philosophy and resolution as to be able to resist the temptations with which we have ensnared them."

[i] "If those whom the wisdom of our laws has condemned to die, had been detected in their rudiments of robbery, they might, by proper discipline and useful labour, have been disentangled from their habits; they might have escaped all the temptations to subsequent crimes, and passed their days in

But "GALLIO careth for none of these things."[k]

Towards the conclusion of this year, 1789, a prosecution was commenced by one part of the *corporation* of *Nottingham* against another, for neglecting the qualifications required in these cases by the *Test* and *Corporation* acts. On this occasion I published in a pamphlet "An Address to the Inhabitants of *Notting-*

reparation and penitence; and detected they might have been, had the prosecutors been certain that their lives would have been spared.—They who would rejoice at the correction of a thief, are yet shocked at the thought of destroying him. His crime shrinks into nothing, compared with his misery; and severity defeats itself by exciting pity." Rambler, N° 114.

[k] The voice of one philosopher is too weak to be heard amidst the clamours of a multitude, blindly influenced by custom; but there is a small number of sages, scattered on the face of the earth, who will echo to him from the bottom of their hearts." BECCARIA, ut supra, 115.

It appears that the renowned *Chillingworth* left among his MSS. a tract entitled "A Problematical Tentamen against punishing crimes with death in Christian societies;" of which the late Dr. *Kippis* says, "It were to be wished that it had been preserved and printed;—the reflections of so thinking a man on such a subject, and which hath not to this day been treated of with sufficient extent, accuracy, and precision, would probably have been found well worthy of attention."

Biog. Brit. 2d. edit. III. 515 and 517, Art. *Chillingworth.*

ham on the Subject of the Test Laws," which was soon after followed by an appendix.

The dissenters of *Birmingham* applied to me for leave to reprint these addresses in behalf of *civil* and *religious* liberty; which I readily granted, with a proper sense of their favourable opinion of my exertions in the common cause.

As my motives in this publication, which some people misconceived, are particularly stated in the *Birmingham* edition, I shall not trouble the reader with any further detail of this production.

In connexion with this subject, what should hinder me from relating a pleasant piece of history, which was conveyed to my ears upon tolerably good authority, and indeed wears upon it's face the features of authenticity.

When a deputation from the body of the *dissenters* waited upon a certain *prime minister*, to solicit his interposition and support to their intended application for the repeal of the *Test Laws*, his behaviour was such, upon the whole, as to encourage them to expect his patronage, but shadowed with that convenient mysticism of expression, which leaves a man at liberty to prevaricate, without the possibility of fastening upon him a direct charge of inconsistency and falsehood.

This propitious reception is soon rumoured by the hundred mouths of Fame through every corner of the land, and reaches ere long even the retirement of a certain prelate, who is said, and I believe truly, to have set up in *speculative whiggism*, and to be leaving off in *practical toryism*.

Up comes this *metamorphosed* ecclesiastic in a violent bustle to our "defender of the faith and so forth;" and exclaims in all the trepidation of distress, "Your majesty's minister is no friend to the church!"—This *minister* is accordingly summoned, and given to understand what part he is expected to act, if he means to keep his place. There was no difficulty of choice, no shadow of embarrassment to *him* in this dilemma. "Part with any thing sooner than my place!" says our upright statesman.

> "The manor, sir! The manor, sir!"—he cried,
> Not that; I cannot part with that."

We all well know the event to be exactly correspondent to the *hypothesis* of this little history.

A sensible composition by a friend appeared at this time in the *Nottingham* Journal, suggested by the transactions of the day. It appears to me worthy of a longer date than the

fugitive existence of a *newspaper*; and that date my work shall attempt to give it.[1]

[1] "UPON CONSCIENCE.

"Conscience having been pleaded to justify the worst as well as the best actions, it is of great consequence to examine the subject carefully, and to consider by what rules a man may judge, whether he has a good conscience, a tender conscience, a weak conscience, a wicked conscience, or no conscience at all.

"Conscience is a principle of action, directing a man what he ought to do or forbear, founded upon a consciousness of what passes in his own mind, and the consistency of such conduct with his opinions.

"It is a directory for his own conduct, as far as the consequences of it relate to himself alone. The proof of a good conscience is where a man suffers an inconvenience, exposes himself to any danger, or submits to any wrong rather than deny what he believes to be true, and rather than do what he believes to be wrong. This is certainly an amiable disposition; and no one has a right to complain if any one cheerfully submits to self-denial, or injury for public good.

"A tender conscience respects others rather than ourselves; for if the object of tenderness be self, it becomes the height of selfishness; if the object be others, it becomes the height of benevolence.

"A weak conscience is where a man's concern for the rights, the virtue, or happiness of others, being unattended with a sound judgment, leads him to forego those advantages he might innocently enjoy, or to suffer real injuries he might innocently avoid, through a desire of promoting private or public virtue. Of this no one has a right to complain, though they cannot admire. It ought certainly, if not encouraged, to be protected; and a generous public will not unnecessarily

I have read in some ancient author[m] a relation of a people in *Scythia*, who went out

increase the number of sacrifices it is disposed to make, but endeavour, by an appeal to reason, scripture, and experience, to prevent so good a disposition from being a grievance to the possessor.

" No conscience at all is a total insensibility to right and wrong, and a total indifference to private or public virtue.

" A wicked conscience is either a pretended plea, which has public good for it's ostensible object, and private emolument, or the interests of a party, for it's real one. It is void of all tenderness or concern for others. It imagines that good may be brought of evil, that religion can be promoted by inhumanity, and the public good by acts of injustice. It attempts to produce conviction by force, by fraud, by promises, or threatenings, instead of reason, arguments, facts, and experience. As the mark of a good conscience is a readiness to suffer any inconvenience or punishment rather than to say what it believes to be false, or to do what it believes to be wrong; so the sign of a wicked conscience, or of no conscience at all, is, that it will bend to every thing which promotes self-interest, or will serve the views of a party. It passively believes, and passively obeys what others command; it gives up first of all a right, and at length all power of private judgment; resolves all equity into law, and all wise law into acts of parliament, all right into power, all truth into creeds, and all religion into conformity." W.

We understand the above to have been written by the late Dr. Clayton.

[m] Herod. IV. 3.—Claudian alludes to this passage of history in the following lines:

Ut Scytha post multos rediens exercitus annos,
Cum sibi servilis pro finibus obvia pubes

with all their forces to make war on a neighbouring nation.

During their absence on this expedition, which lasted much longer than was expected, the whole body of *slaves*, very numerous in that country, rose upon the few free-men that were left to guard them, and got possession of the wives and properties of their masters. These masters, on their return, carried on an ineffectual war for the recovery of their rights, and were so baffled in every attempt, as at length to despair of success.

In this extremity, one among them, distinguished for his experience of affairs, and his insight into the human character, proposed to lay aside their arms and go upon their slaves in their usual manner, with their *whips* in their hands, and *flog* them to their duty.

The experiment was made accordingly, and with success. The servile timidity with which the culprits had been accustomed to view these implements of castigation, returned at once with all it's concomitant sensations; and the

> Iret, et arceret dominos tellure reversos,
> Armatam ostensis aciem fudere flagellis:
> Notus ab inceptis ignobile reppulit horror
> Vulgus, et adductus sub verbera torpuit ensis.
>
> In Eutrop. I. 508, &c.
>
> W.

mere association of ideas awed them into submission.

A story, remarkably resembling this of the ancients, is related in the memoirs of the late *King of Prussia:*

A marauding hussar discovered the king at a distance, and concealed himself behind a tree to secure his mark, when a proper opportunity should present itself. The sagacious monarch descried the *Austrian* in the act of levelling his piece. "Sirrah!" said he, without emotion, but in a chiding tone; and at the same time held up his cane in a striking posture. The *Austrian* dropt his gun, prostrated himself before his majesty, and craved pardon for his presumption.

"Nec vera virtus cum semel excidit,
Curat reponi deterioribus." [n]

Exactly in the same manner as these *Scythians* acted with their *slaves,* or the *Prussian* monarch with the *Austrian* hussar, are we spiritual watchmen of liberality and freedom

[n] Hor. Carm. III. 5. 29.

"And valour, failing in the soldier's breast,
Scorns to resume what cowardice possest."

FRANCIS.

sometimes compelled to deal with our controversial antagonists in *theology*.

Sycophants, inflated by their preferments, and presuming on their authority with the *higher powers;* intoxicated by ambition and a prodigious conceit of their own acquirements; and above all become callous to the impressions of calm reason and dispassionate expostulation, by the immoderate applauses of the interested and the ignorant; these *Jeshuruns,*[*] I say, would ride with irresistible fury over every barrier of decorum, and tread down the helpless adversary without mercy, did not some bold adventurer (to his own hindrance perhaps) sometimes step forth into the ring with the instruments of severer discipline.

In the beginning of the year 1790, this was precisely my case.

In a pamphlet called an "Apology for the Liturgy and Clergy of the Church of England" (by many ascribed to my old acquaintance Dr. HORSLEY, then advanced to the *Bishopric of St. David's*) the author, a *prelatical Hercules*, under the frantic notion of destroying monsters, had laid about him with such indiscriminate ferocity, as to wound very severely some members of the community, whose cha-

[*] Deut. xxxii. 15.

racters both as men and writers, should have protected them from such outrage.

A publication,[p] ascribed by common fame to the *Duke* of *Grafton*, and which for it's good sense, exact information upon the subject, and liberality of sentiment, would do honour to any character, was treated with a rudeness, for which no provocation could have apologised.

Our dashing polemic went also out of his way to encounter Dr. SYMONDS, *professor of modern history in the university of Cambridge*; partly, I presume, because he was a friend of the *Duke's*, and not merely from any necessity which his station and prospects laid upon him, to attack the professor's work,[q] in it's nature and conduct not likely to call forth any such ebullition of resentment. This work however he assailed in a style of the lowest scurrility, which any man, not estranged from all sense of decorum and reverence for his own feelings, might well blush to own.

At the request of some friends, who were

[p] "Hints submitted to the serious Attention of the Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry newly associated, by a Layman." 1789.

[q] "Observations upon the Expediency of revising the present English version of the Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles."

of opinion that such virulence and abuse should not be suffered to domineer with impunity in this course of triumphant exultation, I took the task of flagellating this ungovernable victim of *hierarchical possession* (though in a case almost desperate) into a little sobriety and decency of manners.[r]

I recollected on one hand the remark of Terence—

"Responsum, non dictum esse, quià læsit prior"—[s]

tantamount to the true observation of Demosthenes, that "no blame can be justly thrown upon an asperity of language merely remedial and in reply, but is chargeable on the aggressor only."[t] To which case another observation of the orator is applicable, for I believe either his grace or the professor might have said very

[r] "A blunt author in pursuit of the truth knows no man after the flesh till his chace is over. For a man to think what he writes, may bespeak his prudence; but to write what he thinks, best opens his principles." ASGILL.

W.

[s] Eun. Prol. 6.

[t] Και μηδεις υμων επιλιμηση, τω λογω πικρον ειναι νομισας, αλλα τοις το εργον αυτο πεποιηκοσι· δια γαρ τους τοιουτους τουτο εστιν, Dem. de cor. trierarch. p. 677. edit. Lutet. 1570.

W.

truly, that "he was the author of this enmity, having received no injury from us either in word or deed."[u]

Also according to the maxim laid down by Cicero, "HUMANITATIS est RESPONSIO,"[x] I recollected what was due from me to the deserving characters which had been assailed with so much virulence.

Finally, I thought something due to *myself* also, who had come in for a spirt of dirty language from this great scampering cavalier, as I was riding my little hobby, with my betters, along the road of reformation.

Now, where was the wonder, if after all this, I used our author with no great ceremony? Nor could I expect much applause even from my friends; for very few have a spirit equal to these hardy exploits; which, however, I must repeat it, are very useful in preserving order in the world, when tyranny is advancing so fast upon us. Uncurbed by the rebukes of some free adventurer in letters like myself, these projectiles would fly off in

[u] Της γαρ εχθρας προτερος ουτος υπηρξεν, ουδεν υφ' ημων πωποτε, ουτε εργῳ, ουτε λογῳ, κακον παθων.

Demost. in Neær. p. 726. ed. Lut.

W.

[x] De Orat. II. 56.

tangents from their orbits, and throw the entire system into confusion.

Such men are regarded as oracles by the subordinate *Clergy*, and do infinite mischief to the cause of truth and liberal enquiry, and prepare society for implicit obedience, and the mind for slavery, unless some man has the resolution to controvert their infallibility, curb their insolence, and disseminate better principles. They themselves are hereby taught to conduct their opposition with more decency and good manners, and to write like *Gentlemen* and *Christians*.

But the principal advantage gained by these rencounters is, that modest authors (who are often the most sensible) are not discouraged from exhibiting the fruit of their reading and meditation to the public, which would be deprived of their valuable communications, if they were to be attacked as soon as they ventured to propose if it be but "*Hints*," that do not suit the taste of lordly churchmen.

From these and other considerations, I look upon the man who has the courage to come forward and avow himself on such an occasion, as an essential benefactor to society, and a true friend to peace, candour, and good-manners.

Yet as to the generality, with whom *Bishops*

are sacred things, their extreme reprobation was but a natural result of my conduct. Some however, whose principles should have taught them a less slavish lesson, joined in the cry of condemnation.

I have said above that the *Apology* was ascribed to Bishop Horsley, yet some, not very unlikely to form a true judgment, say it was Bishop Hallifax. I hope they are mistaken: it would argue in him much ingratitude to the object of his censures, from whom he had received important services.

About Midsummer of the same year (1790) all the powers of *hierarchy* were in motion, and the tools of monarchical domination and spiritual tyranny, *bed-chamber lords* and *pensioned commoners*, were crowding to county meetings on all sides.

Ardet inexcita Ausonia atque immobilis antè.[r]

Both church and state were declared to be in danger from the machinations of the vile dissenters, and their vile advocates. The cry

[r] Æneid, VII. 623.

"Till now unmov'd by discord and alarms,
Ausonia burns." PITT.

was issued from the court, and reverberated from the remotest corners of our affrighted empire.

" Audiit et Triviæ longè lacus; audiit amnis
Sulphureâ Nar albus aquâ, fontesque Velini:
Et trepidæ matres pressêre ad pectora natos." [z]

I was not sparing in my exertions, such as they were, to enforce the claims of *civil* and *religious* liberty upon my countrymen; and employed in this old-fashioned and unprofitable warfare the keenest weapons, whether of reasoning, ridicule, or satire, that my armoury could supply.

[z] Æn. VII. 516.

" The lake of Trivia heard the note profound,
The Veline fountains trembled at the sound,
The thick sulphureous floods of hoary Nar
Shook at the blast that blew the flames of war:
Pale at the piercing call, the mothers prest
With shrieks their starting infants to the breast."

PITT.

" The great and the powerful seldom fail to raise a cry of danger to something or another, that really is, or is thought to be, valuable, by means of the stupid, the lazy, and the corrupt, the constant tools and confederates of the mighty, and who are at the same time the sworn enemies of all enquiries." Lord BARRINGTON.

W.

I publisht a miscellany of *cursory*[a] *reflections* on the subject; in which are remarks worthy to be numbered among the best of my capabilities; but some gross errors and omissions of the printer, occasioned by my distance from the press, made me careless of it's fate.

The time now approached when I was once more to leave Nottingham, and to launch again into the great world, in quest of a new adventure:

> " ——— major rerum mihi nascitur ordo;
> Majus opus moveo." [b]
>
> " A mightier work, a nobler scene appears." [c]

[a] " Cursory Reflections occasioned by the present Meetings in opposition to the Claims of the Dissenters." 1790.

[b] Æn. VII. 44. [c] Pitt.

CHAP. XVII.

Tutorship at Hackney College—Pupils—Remarks on academical Education—Silva Critica, Second Part.

1790, 1791.

In consequence of an invitation to undertake the classical tutorship in an academical institution recently established at Hackney, I removed in July, 1790, to that place,[d] with

[d] In one of my journeys to London, after my election to the classical tutorship at Hackney College, a sturdy independence of spirit had well nigh brought me into a dilemma most uncomfortable to one of my tender habits and constitution. Twice did I travel backwards and forwards between Nottingham and London, to seek after a house, besides my last journey of removal; on all which occasions I walked above three-fourths of the way.

One day after going sixty-two miles, above forty of which I had walked since seven in the morning, under a burning sun, and on a road clouded with dust by the passage of carriages during the general election, I reacht after sun-set a solitary inn on the other side of Northampton, which had been recommended to me as an excellent place of peaceful accommodation. I greeted the mansion with emotions of uncommon delight after so wearisome a pilgrimage; went in, and

two dependencies; that of *private pupils* and that of *public tuition* at the *College*. Both these

askt an obscure figure of a landlady, sitting by the fire in darkness visible,

> " Where dying embers through the tooth
> Taught light to counterfeit a gloom,"

if I could get some supper and a lodging there that night? She did not know whether I could or not. " Let me know at once," said I, " because I have no time to lose." She not much liking, I presume, my " bodily presence," which was not very weighty, muttered a faint consent.

This ungracious acquiescence stirred up in me my Pythagorean maxim, of which I have made excellent use on numerous occasions.

> —— παντων δε μαλιστ' αισχυνεο σαυτον.
>
> " And above all men reverence thyself."

I rejected at once her insolent donation; started from the room; and almost overpowered with heat, and thirst, and weariness, sallied out in quest of another asylum for the night. None but the brother pilgrim, whose feet have carried him

> " O'er hills of peril and through vales of woe,"

can easily imagine the fortitude necessary for such an assertion of personal dignity and independence.

Night with sable fingers was drawing her curtain over me, and shedding dews and darkness on the face of nature: the simple inhabitants of these rural regions were hastening to repose; nor did I know where another house of entertainment might be found, having gone at other times ten miles on the

anchors at length failed me, and left *my little bark* again afloat on the ocean of life.

It is well known to all my friends, and no secret to many others, that the son of a nobleman, distinguished by his rank, his love of letters, and his liberal opinions on religious subjects, was to have been placed under my care. Certain apprehensions not unlikely to operate in this case, against the wish and determination of the noble person himself, prevented the execution of his intentions.

I am well aware that many suspicions, injurious to his character, and unfounded in

turnpike, in this county, without seeing a single habitation by the road-side, or finding a drop of water. A lodging under a hedge, or in a hovel, was now in prospect; when I fortunately approacht, in the extremity of the evening, a small inn, which furnisht hospitable entertainment and a comfortable bed; whither I retired in about an hour after my arrival; but my customary watchfulness went with me. I procured some intervals of imperfect sleep between twelve and two: and left the house before three in prosecution of my journey.

" Tir'd Nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep!
He like the world his ready visit pays
Where fortune smiles; the wretched he forsakes:
Swift on his downy pinions flies from woe,
And lights on lids unsullied with a tear.
From short, as usual, and disturb'd repose
I wake." YOUNG.

W.

reality, have been entertained both by my friends and enemies: but I must declare publicly that his behaviour throughout this transaction was ingenuous, candid, and without disguise; becoming a *votary of truth*, and a *man of honour*.

Shall I, who assume the liberty of thinking as I please, and of altering my purpose ten times a day, if propriety and conviction dictate a change of sentiment, refuse a privilege to others which I employ so unrestrainedly myself? All that I require on these occasions is a *frankness* of *action*, an *explicitness* of *language*, declaratory of a free and honest soul.

It would have implied gross ignorance of the world indeed, and a defect of observation incompatible with my experience, in union with discernment, at all superior to the intuition of a changeling, not to be sensible that a professor of my religious opinions, exercising so much freedom of writing and conversation, could expect no *general* encouragement as an instructor of youth, and could only look for success from the particular and zealous patronage of individuals. With these disappointments, therefore, all my expectations from this plan were of course extinguished; and this is the genuine account of my failure in this part of my prospects.

My other dependence, the *classical tutorship* at the *College*, was by much the more agreeable of the *two*; and in that situation I was hoping to pass the remainder of my days.

On entering upon my office I found reason to congratulate myself on the zeal and docility of my *pupils*. Never was I connected with such a set of orderly, industrious, attentive, respectful, and amiable youths. The flame of attachment which their gratitude and affection kindled in my breast, will go out in that moment only when memory is extinguished.

But I was heavily concerned to find in most of them lamentable deficiencies indeed, and in all, but a slender portion of those delicate sensibilities to beauty, sublimity, and pathos of composition, which result from an elegant *classical* education.

What must be done? An imperfect execution of my office was a misery in which I could not acquiesce; and no time adequate to a remedy of previous disadvantages could be allotted from the general distribution of academic business; nay, the present allowance was rendered partly ineffectual by the jaded attention which was brought to my lectures from the distracting variety of other occupations.

This was their own complaint, and of itself visible enough to me in it's *effects*. A similar

evil had occasioned to my mind perpetual uneasiness at *Warrington* in a former period, and determined me in that case, as in the present, to correct the improprieties in our system, or relinquish my station in the college.

In short I signified my intention of resignation to the *Committee*; intimating, to the best of my recollection, my disapprobation of the present plan of procedure; which I had not spared to censure to several of their body, in private conversation, as far as was consistent with decency, and the respect that I felt for individuals.

I found myself, indeed, in a most difficult and delicate situation; highly dissatisfied with our plan, and yet not forward to make a public remonstrance, lest my conduct, as was natural, might carry with it too much an appearance of attempting to establish my own interest on the ruin of my associates.

Indeed by the very illiberal conduct of a leading member in the committee, I was embroiled to the utmost of his power with my colleague the late Dr. KIPPIS; a gentleman whose *unlimited benevolence*, independently of his literary accomplishments, had won my veneration; and from whom no one could withhold respect, who was himself respectable.

Leaving, however, such gross impropriety

to the reprobation of all honest men, without further chastisement from me, affairs seemed at one time to be tending fast to a reformation, when a sudden pause took place, and left me no alternative but escape from a crazy and sinking vessel. My connexion with the college ceased in June 1791.[c]

[c] Some months previous to this period Mr. Wakefield having signified his intention to resign the tutorship, his pupils gave the following testimony of their grateful attachment, and of their sincere regret at the prospect of losing the advantage of his instructions:

December 18, 1790.

At a Meeting of Mr. Wakefield's Pupils at the New College, Hackney, it was unanimously resolved that the following Address be sent to him:

Sir,

It gives us the greatest pain to hear that you have signified to the Committee an intention of resigning the office of Tutor. We earnestly hope that some means will be taken to remove the causes which have unhappily led you to such a resolution. Our high sense of your merit, and of the improvement we derive from your instruction, lead us to entreat that you will reconsider the affair, and to express our sincere wishes that you may be prevailed upon to continue in a situation in which you are at once so useful and so respectable.

Signed, by desire of the students,

T. Norgate.

This testimony of regard for their tutor was afterwards confirmed by a present of nearly one hundred pounds, raised entirely among the students themselves, for the purpose of augmenting his library.

I shall here make some observations upon the highly important subject of academical instruction, and with particular reference to the *Christian Ministry*; and the dissenters may assure themselves that their *interest* and *respectability* as a body are very materially concerned in what I am now proceeding to remark. I most heartily wish to see every branch of useful and ornamental learning flourish among them.

For the province which I am undertaking, my *experience*, at least, has amply qualified me, and I have heretofore discussed the subject with the late Dr. Aikin, our divinity tutor at *Warrington*, who (not to mention every other person with whom I have conversed) acknowledged the rectitude of my ideas upon the question.

The *scriptures* of the *Old and New Testaments* are, as all parties allow, the sole *repositories* of *divine truth*, and the store-houses whence all our materials of a *religious creed* are to be derived. What then is the first step necessary? Undeniably, an intimate acquaintance with the *language* and *phraseology* of the *sacred volume*, in conjunction with those indispensible assistances, which an accurate and extensive knowledge of the *Greek* and *Roman* writers is capable of furnishing. Every phi-

losophical mind will readily grant me, that no system of religious doctrines can be valuable to the possessor, or useful to the promotion of gospel truth, which is not the result of an impartial and unbiassed perusal of the scriptures.

The *New Testament* should be read as if the book were newly published in the world, and, if possible, every interference of any sentiments professed among different sects of Christians most scrupulously shut out.

Let the student thoroughly understand the *diction* and *style* of his author's composition, and deduce his own creed accordingly.

Where is the meritorious difference between *Socinian* and *Trinitarian*, if the respective doctrines have been poured into the mind through the funnel of a *lecture?* Of what value is the fire of *zeal*, without the illumination of *knowledge?* A direct consequence of such discipline is the production of sects and divisions in society, rather than edification in gospel truth and gospel manners. I feel no difficulty therefore in condemning most decisively and severely that plan of lecturing in *Trinitarianism*, *Arianism*, and *Socinianism*, the *pre-existence* of *Christ*, &c.; whence springs, with other evil fruit, a harvest of *theological coxcombs*, devoted to a system, and puffed up with a vain conceit

of profound knowledge not worth possessing. The building may look fair and stately to the eye of an unskilful or inaccurate observer, but it's *foundation* is on the sand.

The *absurdity*, however, and *inefficacy* of this method, is sufficiently apparent from one obvious circumstance; which is, that the ingenuous youth (and to such I appeal) eager for knowledge, and burning for improvement, is wearied and disgusted by this tedious process, unsuitable to his taste and years. He struggles against nature, but in vain. The weaknesses of mortality are no match for such a potent adversary.

——— "succombant sous l'effort
Soupire, étend les bras, ferme l'œil, et s'endort."

As to the *Mathematical* and *Philosophical* departments of education, the elements of science are dry and abstract, and, as experience proves, exceedingly unpalatable to the generality of young minds. The pupil should therefore be carried forward with all the expedition that a faithful and accurate initiation will admit, to a *practical* application of his principles to the striking, amusing, and instructive truths of the *four branches* of *natural philosophy*, and to the sublime demonstrations of the *Newtonian* system of the universe.

But how can he be expected to relish those tedious theories of which he sees no *end* and *application?* This is so abundantly authorised by *fact*, and is in itself so evident, as to render a further discussion of the point nothing less than an inexcusable insult to the understanding of the reader.

With respect to *Metaphysics*, *Morals*, *History*, and *Politics*, lectures on these subjects are of little utility in an early stage of life:[f] the faculties are not yet qualified to love or comprehend them: and *words* are employed, and questions answered, without any impression of distinct and correspondent *ideas* upon the mind. I know from experience that what I say is generally true, though there are, no doubt, occasional exceptions.

I, moreover, exceedingly condemn, as prejudicial, and even ruinous, the method of conveying knowledge in pre-composed *lectures*, which leave no proper independent exertion for the understanding and industry of the student.

[f] —— "dum prima novis adolescit frondibus ætas,
Parcendum teneris; et dum se lætus ad auras
Palmes agit, laxis per purum immissus habenis."
VIRG. Geo. II. 362.
W.

The greatest service of tuition to any youth, is to teach him THE EXERCISE OF HIS OWN POWERS;[g] to conduct him to the hill of knowledge by that gradual process in which he sees and secures his own way, and rejoices in a consciousness of *his own faculties* and *his own proficiency.*[h] *Puppies* and *sciolists* alone can be expected to be formed by any other process. The tree of knowledge cannot be climbed but with difficulty and patience.

An able tutor, at a proper period of the student's life, should point out to him the most

[g] "The business of education in respect to knowledge, is not, as I think, to perfect a learner in all, or any one of the sciences, but to give his mind that freedom, that disposition, and those habits, that may enable him to attain any part of knowledge he shall apply himself to, or stand in need of in the future course of his life."

LOCKE. Conduct of the Understanding. Sect. XII. See also Sect. XIX.

[h] Την γενναιαν και φιλοτιμον φυσιν τα πονῳ κτηθεντα πλεον ευφραινει των απονως συλλεγομενων· και μαλλον ἡδεται τις αυτος πορισαμενος, η παρ' ἑτερου λαβων.

Anecdot. Græc. Villoison, tom. II. p. 50. W.

What is acquired by labour pleases the generous nature, which is eager for distinction, more than that which is collected without labour; and a person is more delighted by supplying himself, than by receiving from others.

valuable authors in these different provinces of literature for his own private studies, with leave to consult him in difficulty, and confer with him on stated occasions. He will not pretend to make scholars, but to enable his pupils to make themselves such. As for lectures on these branches, they only destroy time, tempt patience, and are an affront to an understanding moderately endowed by nature.[i]

A capacity of employing time with pleasure and advantage, the grand security against *immorality* and *dissipation*,[k] is the most useful

[i] "People have now-a-days got a strange opinion that every thing should be taught by lectures. Now I cannot see that lectures can do so much good as reading the books from which the lectures are taken. I know nothing that can be best taught by lectures, except where experiments are to be shewn. You may teach chymistry by lectures; you may teach making shoes by lectures." Dr. JOHNSON.

W.

[k] Τι δυσκολον; σχολην ευ διαθεσθαι.

Chilo apud Diog. Laert. 17. E. edit. Rom.

What is difficult? to employ leisure well.

Ερωτηθεις τι αυτῳ περιγεγονεν εκ φιλοσοφιας; εφη, το δυνασθαι ἑαυτῳ ὁμιλειν. Antisthenes ap. Diog. Laert. 139. D.

W.

Being asked, what advantage he had derived from philosophy, he replied, that of being able to keep my own company.

consequence of instruction: but how can this valuable end be attained, where the pupil has every thing provided to his hands in a stated course of traditionary lectures, which, in some cases, he is expected to *transcribe?* This may be called the mere *Popery* of education. We must not expect to soar on the waxen wings of secondary, unpremeditated information, to the celestial heights of true science.

To instance particularly in the case of *history*, where every student of moderate faculties is competent to his own instruction, and the *belles-lettres*, in which the classical tutor will teach all that is valuable, in his regular course, if he have abilities equal to his office; what can be more contemptible than for a youth to be descanting upon the style of *Thucydides* and *Demosthenes*, who has never read one syllable of the orator or the historian?

As for *classical* literature, it is yet but imperfectly known or valued among the dis-

"When stung with idle anxieties, or teazed with fruitless impertinence, or yawning over insipid diversions, then we perceive the blessing of a lettered recess. With what a gust do we retire to our disinterested and immortal friends in our closet. Our happiness no longer lives on charity; nor bids fair for a fall, by leaning on that most precarious and thorny pillow, another's pleasure, for our repose."

Dr. YOUNG on Original Composition.

senters. This is true, I am sorry to declare it, even of some whose characters are, on other accounts, deservedly high among the learned of every description.

"It is," say they, "a mere knowledge of *words.*" And what are words, we might ask them on their own assertion, but expressions of *notions?* And whose notions can be better worth acquiring, than those of the most accomplished *Poets, Orators, Moralists, Historians,* and *Politicians,* that ever adorned human nature under the reign of freedom, when authors spake what they thought, and thought without restraint?[l]

Besides, whatever is excellent in modern times owes at least half it's acquisitions to those parents of all science—[m] those universal instructors of mankind, without whom these objectors would still have been, in all probability, but *painted Barbarians.*[n] And what soul of

[l] "Rara temporum felicitas, ubi sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere licet." TACIT. Hist. I. 1.

[m] That is true, with respect to the moderns and ancients, which Quintilian says of Demosthenes and Cicero: "Demosthenes prior fuit, et ex magnâ parte Ciceronem, quantus est, fecit." Lib. X. cap. 1. W.

[n] What reader has not felt the beauty and good sense so conspicuous in these masculine lines of Claudian:

any curiosity or ambition will chuse to receive so considerable a proportion of his information

" Intereà Musis, ætas dum mollior, instes,
Et quæ mox imitere, legas; nec desinat unquam
Tecum Graia loqui, tecum Romana vetustas."
De Cons. IV. Honor. 396, &c.

But as *Claudian* has come in my way, and the subject turns on the obligations of the moderns to the ancients, I will step out of the road to discover the origin of, perhaps, the sublimest simile that English poetry can boast.

" As *some tall cliff* that lifts it's awful form,
Swells from the vale, and *midway leaves the storm:*
Though round it's breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sun-shine settles on it's head."

——————— " ut *altus* Olympi
Vertex, qui spatio *ventos hiemesque relinquit,*
Perpetuum nullâ temeratus nube serenum,
Celsior exsurgit *pluviis,* auditque ruentes
Sub pedibus nimbos, et rauca tonitrua calcat:
Sic patiens animus per tanta negotia liber
Emergit, similisque sui: justique tenorem
Flectere non odium cogit, non gratia suadet."
Claud. de Mall. Theod. Cons. 206.

a passage exquisitely moral and sublime!

" Stat *sublimis apex, ventosque imbresque serenus*
Despicit." Stat. Theb. ii. 35.

I could easily point out other thefts of this nature, not yet detected, in our most admired poets. W.

at second-hand; and prefer the stream coloured by the soil of translation, to a draught at the unpolluted spring?

[o] " For who that has drank of the chrystalline tide
To the feculent flood would return?"

Why need I mention that the extraordinary pains which these ancients employed on their compositions, have made their works the completest specimens of elegance and correctness, that human wit will, probably, ever be able to produce? And is not a *correct* and *elegant* style an excellent accompaniment in any literary composition?[p]

Where also can the student cull such flowers of sentiment favourable to *civil liberty*, as in the orators, moralists, and historians of Greece and Rome? And, not to insist on it's edifying tendency, why need I mention that exquisite "feast of soul" which the *poetry* of the ancients furnishes to the taste, and which the

[o] Roscoe.

[p] Mandare verò quemquam literis cogitationes suas, qui eas nec disponere nec ornare possit, aut delectatione aliquâ allicere lectorem, hominis est intemperanter abutentis et otio et literis.

CICERO.

W.

greatest geniuses of later days, the best judges of such excellence, have venerated to idolatry.

And surely no ingenuous mind will unrelentingly acquiesce in an ignorance of those writers, which the first characters in every department of letters have agreed to admire and praise. Indeed, it may be asserted as a general, and almost as an universal truth, that our country has given birth to no *philosophers, moralists, metaphysicians, divines, politicians, lawyers*, and even but few *poets*, of distinguished eminence, who have not laid the *foundation* of their acquirements deep in ancient literature, which may be justly denominated the *sinews* of all proficiency; and where they have been deprived of this advantage, by the untowardness of birth or education, they have deeply regretted their infelicity.

" I have never yet seen a despiser of verbal criticism," says my learned and amiable friend Dr. Edwards, of Cambridge, in his edition of Plutarch's Treatise on [q]Education, " who was remarkable for strength of reasoning, for correctness of style, or for accuracy of erudition. When these scoffers favour the public with their own matchless productions, they excite in the readers the most lively sen-

[q] P. 152. Note.

sations of disgust, either by the poverty of their conceptions and diction, or by an awkward affectation of sublimity and pathos, or by an unskilful selection and confused arrangement of their materials. I am so far from lamenting the years which are usually passed in a grammar-school, that I consider them, if well employed, as the most important period of life. The peculiar exercise of the understanding, which is requisite to investigate and ascertain the precise meaning of an ancient author, is the best, if not the only method of training up the juvenile mind to form just conclusions on more momentous subjects. If, on the other hand, boys are permitted or encouraged to wander from one pursuit to another, and to remain satisfied with a superficial knowledge of each, we shall in vain look forward to those mature fruits without which it will be impossible to establish a character. When I have once found a sciolist, who, on any topic whatever, can manifest the same cogency of argument, which Dr. Bentley displayed in his dissertation on Phalaris; or the same energy of language which Dr. Parr has lately exhibited in his republication of the tracts of a Warburtonian;" (or, let me add, the same comprehension and sagacity in adjusting evidence and

detecting ignorance and imposture discovered by Professor Porson in his letters to Archdeacon Travis) "then, and not till then, I will relinquish verbal criticism as pedantic and useless."

With these masterly observations, which leave me nothing to add upon the subject, I shall conclude this disputation on *classic* learning.

In general, a great deal too much, beyond what either experience or philosophy will authorize, has been undertaken to be done in a little time, at some of our academical institutions. The mind of the pupil is bewildered, and his attention palled, by an endless multiplicity of pursuits.

Instead of baiting for the public with a bill of fare, which engages for the digestion of the whole *Encyclopædia* in *three* years, the very quintessence of empiricism! parents should honestly be told, what *experience* dictates to be just, and what the *human faculties* will bear. The rider's speed must be regulated by the abilities of his horse. If you expect more than this, the tutor should say, you expect what is impossible. We have no *strong food* in our literary larder, that will nourish up your puny bantling in so short a compass into a son of

Anac. We might make loud and confident pretensions; but we should wrong you and deceive the public.

In my ardour I have overstepped the barriers of chronological succession,

"And panting Time toils after me in vain."[1]

I must carry my reader back to the latter end of the year 1790, to mention that the second part of my "Silva Critica" then appeared, through the continued affection of my ever-honoured Alma Mater, the university of Cambridge. In this volume I was occupied, more than in the former, in my illustration of the *phraseology* and the explication of the *sense* of the *New Testament*. I proceeded to the end of the *Acts of the Apostles*, reserving the remainder of the Scriptures for my third volume.

As to my works in general, and this work in particular, more extensive reading and maturer judgment have enabled me to discover various inaccuracies; such indeed as are incident to human productions of more learning and genius than I can boast. What is good I shall be found tolerably able to defend; what

[1] Dr. Johnson's Prol.

is faulty, I shall be the first to abandon and retract. To commit an error is no dishonour, but to defend it pertinaciously when detected is a folly, which no man shall lay to my charge; nor that of pretending to accomplishments which I do not possess.

I am very sensible that every accession of knowledge is only like mounting an eminence, which gives a farther prospect of the immensity of science, and of our own insufficiency; I never fail to inculcate this important truth, that *intellectual* acquirements are only valuable as they promote and recommend *religion*, *virtue*, and *amiable manners*; and that, in competition with pure and benevolent affections, knowledge is but conspicuous dishonour.

CHAP. XVIII.

Translation of the New Testament—Essay on Public Worship—Observations on a Debate in the House of Commons—Conclusion.

1791, 1792.

TOWARDS the conclusion of the year 1791, appeared my "Translation of the New Testament, with Notes," in three vols. 8vo.

This work, on many accounts, cost me a great deal of trouble, particularly in the comparison of the *Oriental* versions with the received text. I had proceeded beyond the *Epistle* to the *Romans* before I left *Nottingham*; when the interruption of my studies and a long suspension of the work occasioned some mistakes in this edition as to a few references, and in other respects; such indeed as must be expected in every human undertaking.

——— "quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura."[s]

[s] Hor. Art. Poet. 352.

"Where some slight carelessness we find,
Or frailty common to mankind." BOSCAWEN.

This work was much more profitable to me than all the rest of my publications put together. The *Duke* of *Grafton*, the *Bishop* of *Landaff*, a number of gentlemen among the dissenters in the country, and *Mr. Tyrwhitt* of Jesus College, Cambridge, were particular in their munificence. Some of the most distinguished characters of that university were not ashamed to place their names in the list of my subscribers.

I did not expose myself to any drawback from these encouragements, by printing many copies beyond the exigency of the subscription. The impression went off, and in 1795, I gave a new edition of the work, in a more accessible form.

In a few weeks after the first edition of my translation, I continued my career, according to the example of the intrepid citizen of Tarsus, "through evil report and good report," by the publication of my pamphlet on *religious worship*.[t]

[t] "A short Enquiry into the Expediency and Propriety of public or social Worship." 1791.

This tract occasioned, as might be expected, various answers; some of which were judged by the public to have considerable merit. On most of these our author briefly animadverted, in "A general Reply to the Arguments against the Enquiry into public Worship." In the course of the discussion

Most of my friends among the dissenters were offended at the freedom with which, in this tract, I had treated the peculiarities of their mode of worship. I reflected, however, that no man of sense is hurt by inapplicable satire.

The uneasiness which they felt from the administration of this potion, proved clearly to me, that the medicine was struggling with some disorder, and would in the end contribute materially to mend the constitution of the patient. I thought it equally unscientific and unkind, as a physician of spiritual maladies, not to assist the favourable operation of the first prescription: and accordingly did not weaken my second composition of this healing draught.

On February 20th, 1792, I was induced for the first time in my life, and, I verily believe, for the last, to go to the *House of Commons*, to hear the debates on *Mr. Grey's* motion for papers respecting the *Russian Negociation*.

" Eloquar an sileam?"

he readily took occasion to retract or qualify some positions which he had too hastily advanced; but to the leading principle of his " Enquiry," he continued uniformly to adhere, from the honest conviction of his mind.

Seldom have I experienced a greater disappointment.

Even Mr. Fox himself (of whom even then I knew enough to inspire me with sentiments both of love and admiration) sets off, in my opinion, with a warmth that would result with much more nature and effect from the gradual action of the subject, and the acceleration of his progress. Yet his sense was excellent, and the admission of his adversary's objections in their fullest latitude, and his arguing from this concession, was worthy of his genius and magnanimity.

But I seriously affirm, on the credit of an honest man, that no words can describe the amazement excited in me by the exhibition of the *Minister*, Mr. Pitt.

"Up rose the master of the sev'nfold face."

It was long the subject of my thoughts and the topic of conversation to my friends. Eloquence! how is thy sacred name prostituted in this application of it. Such a bellowing vociferation, such an impudent attempt to screen the imbecility of argument under a fictitious passion, and a volley of empty sounds, sunk him ten times deeper than before even in my opinion.

Despicable indeed must be those faculties that cannot acquire a knowledge of that round of business which they are perpetually running, and a volubility of words, by the joint assistance of daily practice, of a constitutional self-possession, an immoderate conceit, and the certain applauses of surrounding sycophants. . . .

When I considered the number of venal boroughs, of expectant officers and lawyers of every denomination, of *East-India* partisans, the dependents of the *Treasury*, and other tools, more than I can number—ministerial automata—" who proceed to conclusion, not by weight of reason, but by multitude of votes and suffrages, as if it were a maxim in nature that the greater part must needs be the better:"[a] when I considered these unconstitutional subsidiaries, and saw a *Minister* triumph over sense and reason, by such instruments as these, and insultingly glory in his triumphs, could I help exclaiming, " How is this man dead to patriotism! How is he lost to virtue!"

I returned home; thankt my MAKER with tears of gratitude for giving me in the calm

[a] Hale's Works, I. 66. ed. 12mo.

studies of philosophy and religion, and the exercise of retired virtues, such an infinite superiority over the sons of ambition, venality, and vice!

"Oh! Britain—oh! my country!"

That country which has dispensed freedom to the universe, and produced the great political saviours of mankind, to be the sport and prey of such governors as these!

"Quamquam, O! si solitæ quicquam virtutis adesset,
Ille mihi ante alios fortunatusque laborum
Egregiusque animi, qui ne quid tale videret
Procubuit moriens, et humum semel ore momordit."[x]

When I weigh in the balance the *negative* as well as *positive* transgressions of that minister; not merely what he *has done*, in his career

[x] Æn. XI. 415.

"Yet, oh! did any of our pristine worth
And virtue still remain; that man to me
Would, in his glorious toils, most bless'd appear,
Who rather than behold a thing like this,
Fell once for all, and dying bit the ground."

TRAPP.

of political apostacy from every original profession, but what the general prejudice in his favour, and the too general dislike of his opponents, would have *enabled* him *to do* for the liberty and happiness of his country, I can think of nothing so applicable to his case as the lines of Virgil:

> " Tristius haud illo monstrum, nec sævior ulla
> Pestis, et ira deûm, Stygiis sese extulit undis."[7]

In those circumstances, wherein it would scarcely have been honourable to have acted well, who shall estimate the infamy of misconduct?

A most wonderful coincidence of fortunate events in succession, totally unconnected with any meritorious exertion on his part for the public good, conspired to maintain his popularity with the ambitious, the mercenary, and the unreflecting; whilst the more observant and disinterested part of the community were daily deserting from his standard.

But even this series of favourable concurrences would probably have proved insufficient, without a prostitution of *regal honours*, lavish, and indiscriminate beyond example.

[7] Æn. III.

There can be no doubt, however, of the beneficial issue of such corruption in due season. The spring of liberty will one day restore itself with a renitency proportionate to the violence of the pressure, to the subversion of every devourer and insulter of a free and enlightened people.

By what an unaccountable infatuation can men confederate against their own happiness! By the destruction of all arbitrary government and it's appendages, by the introduction of humane and equal laws, by the establishment of judicial processes, speedy,* decisive,

* What can be more scandalous than the delays of criminal justice, in this country, owing to the long intervals between the Circuits? A person (as it happened while I was at Dorchester) shall be committed on suspicion of a theft, at the latter end of July, and shall continue on miserable fare, and in miserable lodging, torn from his family and employments, for the space of eight months, and be acquitted perhaps at last, without the least recompence for the irreparable injury to his character and his feelings. W.

This evil has been well exposed in the following extract from an author who has been several times quoted in a former part of this work:

"One capital defect in the administration of our laws, which most immediately calls for redress, is the great length of time which is suffered to elapse between the crime and the

and unburdensome, by the education of the common people and the cultivation of true

punishment. In no part of England, but the county of Middlesex, are there more than two assizes held in every year, and those at such unequal distances, that a man who is the object of a prosecution, may lie eight months in prison before he is brought to trial. This grievance is still greater in the four northern counties, for there they have but one assize in a twelvemonth; and in the town of Hull (incredible as it may appear) the assizes are seldom held more frequently than once in the course of three years. I have been informed by a gentleman who goes the Northern circuit, that, at the last assizes held at Hull, a man was convicted of some offence, for which the judge said he should never have punished him with more than six months imprisonment; and this poor wretch had lain above two years in jail before he was brought to trial. An instance as striking, though of a different kind, of the evils resulting from this delay of justice, is mentioned by Mr. Howard. [State of Prisons, p. 15]. One Peacock, a murderer, was kept a prisoner in Kingston jail almost three years before he could be tried; in the mean time the principal witness against him died, and he was necessarily acquitted. The consequence of executing the sentence so long after the commission of the crime, has been well observed by the Marquis of Beccaria to be that of rendering the example of the punishment nearly useless. When the sentence is executed, the crime has been long forgotten. The spectators seem to contemplate, not the punishment of a criminal, but merely the death of an individual; and the sentiments with which they go away impressed are, not of the justice of the law and the danger of violating it, but of compassion to a fellow-creature to whose sufferings they have been witnesses. But there

unpolitical religion, such a glorious system of universal *liberty* and unlimited *benevolence* might be established, as would make this earth, in comparison of it's present condition, a PERFECT PARADISE. Well might Jupiter exclaim in Homer—

> Ω ποποι, οιον δη νυ θεους βροτοι αιτιοωνται!
> Εξ ημεων γαρ φασι κακ' εμμεναι, οι δε και αυτοι
> Σφησιν ατασθαλιησιν, υπερ μορον, αλγε' εχουσι.[a]

> "Unthinking, peevish, discontented men,
> Charge on us gods, with accusation loud,
> Their various ills; whilst their own ways perverse,
> And minds infatuate, all their woes produce."

And now I have continued these *memoirs* through a series of *thirty-six* years to March, 1792; since which period I have lived to see the greatest devastation of our species by the sword that History will record through the

is another, and surely a much more important reason, why the trial of a prisoner ought to follow much sooner after the perpetration of the crime, namely, that it is always possible that the trial may manifest his innocence."

Observations on Madan's "Thoughts on Executive Justice," pp. 109, &c.

[a] Hom. Od. I. 32, &c.

bloody pages of her ample volume; I have lived to see the despicable instruments of persecution, the children of malignity and dissimulation, reap an abundant harvest of their crimes in wealth and honours.

Whether this history will be carried on to a future period depends on the FATHER OF MY SPIRIT, in whose *hands are the issues of life and death.*

Should he prolong my stay in this existence, I will endeavour to employ such talents as he has committed to my trust, in the service of true religion and useful learning, to his glory and the improvement of my species. Should he call me hence, I will obey the "warning voice" with unreluctant cheerfulness; conscious with the great apostle of what I have entrusted to his charge, and of his willingness and fidelity to keep my deposit *against that day.*

I will persevere in the duties of my appointed station "without impatience, but pressing forwards, declining no labour, but desirous of rest. Am I encompassed with trouble? Mine eye shall be fixed on immortality. I will suffer in hope, and rejoice with trembling."[b]

[b] Ogden's Sermons.

With little else to engage my thoughts but the prosecution of my studies and the education of my children, may I wear out the remnant of my days, sheltered from the caprice of man and the vicissitudes of fortune, beneath the calm contemplations of a private life, amidst the approbation and attachment of every friend to truth and liberty.

END OF VOL. I.

T. Bensley, Printer, Bolt Court, Fleet Street, London.

APPENDIX.

(A.)

APPENDIX. (F.)

THE

FIRST SATIRE OF JUVENAL

IMITATED.

1800.

STILL, still shall struggling SPLEEN repress her hand,
This spawn of scribblers croaking through the land?
See *Chalmers* urge with persevering page
To doubt and dulness a discerning age?
See *Reeves* enjoy his pension and applause,
Who Freedom libell'd, and provok'd her laws?
With unindignant apathy pass by
Of *Antijacobins* the filthy stye?
Wars, murders, their delight; not **'s more;
True priests of Moloch! gorg'd with human gore.
Their *social Order*, States in ruin hurl'd;
Their *Law*, CONFUSION stalking through the world:
Their *Faith*, to bid Good-will and Mercy cease,
And whoop War's hell-hounds at THE PRINCE OF PEACE;
Raptur'd to view the ensanguin'd trophies nod
In frowns of horror o'er the shrine of GOD!
How plotting *Priestley*'s grains of powder lie
To blow our Church in atoms to the sky;[a]

[a] During the debate in the House of Commons in 1787, on the Repeal of the Test Act, one of the present writers heard Sir William Dolben, Member of Parliament for the University of Oxford, quote the following passage, to which Mr. Wakefield alludes, from Dr. Priestley. "——the silent pro-

How crafty *Tooke* and bawling *Thelwall* plann'd
To make one mighty Chaos of the land,
To whelm wealth, titles, in Rebellion's flood,
And drench the scaffold with their Sovereign's blood;
How *Paine* builds equal rights on equal birth
With equal commonage o'er parent Earth;
Not, through the paths of bliss our steps to lead,
The naked clothe, sick cherish, hungry feed;
But, *Nero*-like, one vast combustion raise
Of Law, Rank, Order; and enjoy the blaze:—
Those countless crimes, which *Windham*'s tongue can tell,
Of *quitted felons*, genuine imps of hell:—
On such stale themes, to me far better known,
Than house, and wife, and all I name my own,

pagation of the truth will in the end prove efficacious. We are placing, as it were, grain by grain, a train of gunpowder, to which the match will one day be laid to blow up the fabric of error, which can never be again raised upon the same foundation."

The worthy *Baronet* now displayed his sagacity in detecting the design of the *Philosopher*, and, as in duty bound, alarmed the House by laying no common emphasis on every grain of the metaphorical combustible. Mr. Courtenay, whose pleasantry has so often relieved the tædium of parliamentary business, undertook to calm the apprehensions of the Representative of the University of Oxford, and reminded him that the deep design, whatever it might be, was only against "the fabric of error," and therefore Sir William must be satisfied that the Church of England could be in no danger.

This subject is treated with all suitable gravity by the late *Dr. Geddes*, in his "*Epistola Macaronica*," occasioned by a meeting of the Dissenters, in 1790, to procure the repeal of the Test Act.

Non aderas, Priestley! potior te cura tenebat
Rure, ubi magna inter centum miracula rerum,
Hæresi caput in rutilantia fulmina fœgis;
ulphuris et satagis subtilia grana parare,
Church quibus et churchmen, in cœlum upblowere possis.

THE following collection of letters, arranged according to their dates, will, it is apprehended, give additional interest to the former part of this volume. Those addressed to Mr. Wakefield are printed from the originals, now in the possession of the editors. A few by himself are from copies, in his own hand-writing, found among his papers.

The originals of those addressed to the Rev. Dr. Gregory, forming the larger part of this collection, were very obligingly communicated by that gentleman to the editors, who were agreeably surprised to find that such a number of Mr. Wakefield's letters had been preserved. They will, doubtless, be found a very acceptable addition to this work; for as Dr. Johnson has well observed, "In a man's letters, his soul lies naked, they are only the mirror of his breast; whatever passes within him is shewn undisguised in its natural process; nothing is inverted; nothing distorted; systems appear in their elements, actions are discovered in their motives."

After the last letter to Dr. Gregory there is a long interruption of the series, which the edi-

tors have no means of supplying. They have, however, inserted three letters at the close, which, notwithstanding every allowance for the partiality of friendship, will serve to shew how much Mr. Wakefield was esteemed by those to whom his character was most intimately known.

LETTERS.

LETTERS.

LETTER I.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* STAFFORD.[a]

Richmond, Surry, Sept. 21, 1778.

REV. SIR,

YOUR unexpected, and unmerited attention to my interest demands my sincerest acknowledgments. Brewood has been for some time the first object of my wishes, nor have they ever aspired beyond the level of such an appointment; but now I begin, not without much anxiety, to suspect that the same obstacle which has unfortunately precluded all hopes of advancement in one track, will also effectually intercept them in this. The temper of the generality of mankind is so contracted, and so very unfavourable, in this particular, that nothing but the demonstration

[a] Penkridge, Staffordshire, one of the trustees of Brewood School. See Supra i. 178.

I have had of the goodness and liberality of your disposition, could induce me to mention so delicate a point.

I have been for several years a diligent, and, I trust, impartial searcher of the Scriptures, and must say, that upon mature deliberation, I think the doctrines delivered in that book are improperly and inadequately represented in the articles of our church. The same reasons to which my fellowship will fall a sacrifice in a few months, will certainly prevent any repetition of my subscription, even though this determination be attended with the loss of Brewood: for that at least, I presume, is an indispensable introduction to the mastership. Strange! that a formal subscription to the Articles of the Church of England should have ever been deemed essential to the conveyance of *classical* instruction! that things so unconnected in their nature should have ever been united!

..... ες Πηνειον προιει καλιρρόον ὑδωρ
Οὐδ' .....
..... ηὔτ' ελαιον.[b]

[b] Il. ii. 752.

——— "the gentle flood
Pours into Peneus all his limpid stores,
But with the silver-eddied Peneus flows
Unmixt as oil."——— COWPER.

I suppose there is no probability of any mitigation or indulgence in this matter; and, indeed, it would be presumption to expect it. However, if the practice at Brewood on these occasions should possibly be in my favour, I think I could secure Mr. Mainwaring's[c] recommendation. The dispensing with my personal attendance would be very convenient on several accounts, as it not only admits my engagement for a curacy at Liverpool, which I shall accept if this business fall to the ground; but likewise renders unnecessary an ostentatious declaration of my sentiments, which would appear highly unbecoming in so young a man, and is itself an abomination to me.

I have since found that the bishop[d] was mistaken about the degree. Whatever be the issue of this attempt, no time will ever obliterate a very grateful sense of your extreme kindness and condescension from the memory of

Your much obliged
And very humble servant,
GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

[c] Fellow of St. John's Coll. Camb.

[d] The late Dr. Law, bishop of Carlisle.

LETTER II.

The Rev. Mr. STAFFORD *to Mr.* WAKEFIELD.

SIR,

I WAS so well convinced of your superior classical abilities, that I have taken no inconsiderable pains to facilitate your appointment to the mastership of Brewood School; but your fixed resolution of not complying with the forms indispensably requisite for the introduction to so important a trust, has laid me under the disagreeable necessity of assuring you that (consistent with the will of the founder) I am not now at liberty to make any farther advances in your favour.

If you come through Staffordshire in your way to Liverpool, I shall hope for the pleasure of seeing you at my house: in the mean time I very sincerely wish you may enjoy all possible happiness, and am,

Sir,

Your very obedient humble servant,

JAMES STAFFORD.

Penkridge,
Sept. 27, 1778.

LETTER III.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* STAFFORD.

Richmond, Surry, Sept. 30, 1778.

REV. SIR,

I FIND myself extremely happy in a relief from my suspense about Brewood School by your friendly letter. I am persuaded I shall ever make any sacrifice to the same conviction, with the same composure; and shall think the forfeiture of any worldly advantages abundantly compensated by the possession of that peace which the world cannot give.

It is now my intention to set out for Liverpool next week; and am afraid the immediate necessity of my attendance there will prevent the gratification I should have promised myself from your friendly invitation. I shall endeavour to procure some private pupils there, if possible, that I may at all events secure myself from the perversity of fortune, though by an expedient so unwelcome to a studious man.

It is needless to make any repetition of my acknowledgments: I will only add that I am,

With great respect,
Your much obliged and very humble servant,
GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER IV.

The Rev. Mr. ———— *to Mr.* WAKEFIELD.

————, Sept. 10, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE a thousand apologies to make for not answering the letter you so kindly sent to me from Stockport above six weeks ago. I was just setting out on my tour into Wales, and though what I have to say on the occasion is of very little consequence, yet I found it impossible to write in the hurry of packing up, and in the fatigue and inconvenience of a journey. If this does not appear a sufficient excuse, I must throw myself for one upon your friendship, assuring you that I have snatched the first moment of my return

(even before I have written to a parent whom I tenderly love) to consider and answer your letter.

Indeed, my dear Sir, you pay me too high a compliment in expecting any advantage from my advice on this subject: it is a matter that can only be settled in your own heart, and in attempting to give any I shall but expose my weakness. But I persist, because I would rather you should look upon me as your friend, and love me, than give me the cold esteem which is due to a man of sense.

You have doubts on the subject of our articles, and where is the man who has not? at least I should have a very bad opinion both of the sense and the heart of such a man. But the only difference between us is, that you suppose no man in such circumstances can conscientiously subscribe to articles which he does not believe. You have certainly seen Powell's sermon upon that subject, and let us abuse him as much as we will, it is the case, that they are, and must be, subscribed in different senses by different men. And do you really think that every man who subscribes is guilty of perjury, but the very few who understand them literally? Perjury perhaps is too harsh a term; subscribing that a thing is true,

being very different from swearing to the truth of it.

But you, at least, think us guilty of gross prevarication; and here remains the difficulty, whether you think the possession of the comforts, and, what some think, the honours of life, worth such a prevarication, or no.[4] This, my dear Wakefield, you only can determine. *Fecerunt alii et multi, et boni.* But I own authority is a very bad argument against con-

[4] We have understood that this gentleman, as might not unreasonably be expected, afterwards obtained considerable preferment.

"Sic itur ad astra."

The very different course pursued by his correspondent, and its usual consequences, are thus feelingly described by him at an important conjuncture of his life, when it became not only allowable, but necessary to explain the principles that had regulated his conduct. "Every opportunity of worldly elevation and ecclesiastical emolument have I promptly and largely sacrificed on the altar of Liberty and Conscience: and I stand alone, like a hermit in the wilderness, reaping a scanty harvest from the hard and barren soil of learning, unpreferred, unpatronised, unpensioned, unregarded, amidst my contemporaries, whom I see risen and rising round me, daily, to the highest situations in Church and State, with original pretensions to distinction far less flattering than my own."

"Defence of Gilbert Wakefield, B.A. &c. delivered in the Court of King's Bench," on Feb. 21, 1799, p. 55.

science; if it was not, I would mention, in particular, your fellow-collegian, Jortin, between whose character and yours there is, in many respects, a great resemblance. He professes himself a doubter about the Trinity. He had a mind far above worldly views; yet whether from a desire to be useful in his profession, or any other good (it certainly was some *good*) motive, he subscribed repeatedly, both before and after this profession.

I do not see why we need scrupulously inquire in what sense the Articles were originally, or are now imposed: if I can make the declaration that I believe them to be *true*, (take the word truth as you please) I have done enough. This, you will say, is very relaxed morality: but there is something very like it in St. Paul, when (though eating of meat offered before to idols is forbidden by all the Apostles as a great sin) he tells his scrupulous converts, whatever they think of the matter, to ask no questions, and that then they may eat with a safe conscience.

I fear I shock you; and I told you at the beginning of this letter, I should only expose myself. I repeat, therefore again, that it is the concern of your own heart. If you cannot persuade yourself to the attempt, God

forbid that I should persuade you. As an honest man you will then make the sacrifice required of those who cannot subscribe, (and a great one, indeed, it is) and as an honest man you will be rewarded for it. *Blessed are ye, when ye suffer for righteousness' sake.*

With respect to my esteem, and to my interest, they are always at your service; I only wish for opportunities to assist you. My absence from the world renders those opportunities very uncertain, but you may depend upon being always uppermost in my thoughts, and that I should look upon it as my greatest happiness to be any way conducive to yours.

I am,
Dear Wakefield,
Yours very sincerely,

LETTER V.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.*————

Richmond, Surry, Oct. 2, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

You are too scrupulous in apologizing for your delay: the very acknowledgment is with me a sufficient apology; because I also am *in the body.*

The same maturity of deliberation that determined me to acquiesce in so decisive a resolution some time ago, makes me less liable to be influenced on a sudden, even by the most plausible and rational remonstrances. I give my judgment on Powell's Sermon with much diffidence, it is so long since I read it, and I have it not by me: all I can recollect of the matter is, that his argument appeared to me then by no means satisfactory; rather calculated to evade than determine the debate. However, if at the best every man subscribe in a different and indecisive sense, there is in my opinion no alternative; let such articles be abolished; *that* subscription is an absurdity and a snare: and, if it exclude any from the Church, will exclude only the deserving.

As far as I am able to discern, the unequivocal language of Scripture gives us reason to expect a much more flourishing and extensive reign of Christ than we now see: and if they who are of full age refuse to act conformably to their superior knowledge, in *leaving the first principles of the doctrines of Christ, and going on unto perfection*, they counteract the designs of God, who raised them up as lights in their generation, and obstruct the furtherance of the universal kingdom of his son.

As to our church and nation in particular, I, though no visionary, am fully persuaded in my own mind, that the indifference, venality, or licentiousness of all orders and degrees of men amongst us, without some unexpected revolution to rouse us from our insensibility, will draw down a signal vengeance for the abuse of the many blessings we have enjoyed, with so much greater advantages and so much better knowledge than any other people. At the same time, the latitude I allow myself, I freely allow to others. Happy the man who is not condemned by his own conscience; happy the man who, whilst he *thinketh that he standeth, takes heed lest he fall.*

The Apostle says, *If any man say unto you, this is offered in sacrifice unto idols, eat not: i. e.* If any man inform you (or if you think) that

these articles are partly irrational and partly antichristian, subscribe not. Besides, had I opportunity I think it might be shewn, that the cases are not parallel; at least, according to my apprehension, the same argument would, have holden good against a renunciation of the errors of the church of Rome.

On Wednesday I received a letter which determined my fate with respect to Brewood. I had been given to understand, from what appeared to me the best authority, that subscription was not necessary to an introduction to the mastership. In consequence of this, my friends, and among the rest ————————, interested themselves so much in my behalf, that I find there was the most flattering prospect of success. But a second, and an unquestionable information has convinced me that subscription is indispensable, which of course necessitates me to relinquish all further expectation. This I must confess chagrined me not a little, as that appointment would have been a comfortable settlement for life. But thus it must be.

I am chiefly sorry to have given my friends so much fruitless trouble; though the kindness in reality be equally great on their part, and the obligation on mine. I go next week to a curacy at Liverpool, where I shall endea-

vour to discharge my pastoral duty to the best advantage, well knowing how much a blameless character is preferable to the purest speculation, and that all *knowledge* without *charity* availeth nothing.

The praises you so liberally bestow, however undeserved, cannot but give me great satisfaction, when I reflect on the man who bestows them. Whatever I may once have been, my unsettled situation and perplexity of mind have so much hindered and embarrassed me of late, that I am now, at best, but stationary. I have found, especially, so little opportunity of pursuing my classical studies that our Alma Mater, who dismissed me with approbation, would now scarce acknowledge her degenerated son.

Τον ρ' ηγοι μεν επεμπε,* &c.

I beg my compliments to ———, and am, with great respect,

Your much obliged friend,
And very humble servant,
GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

P. S. I am told Liverpool is a convenient situation for procuring a few pupils. I wish I may not be deceived in my expectation.

* See the same passage applied, Sup. 157.

LETTER VI.

The Rev. Mr. ENFIELD *to Mr.* WAKEFIELD.[f]

Warrington, May 9, 1779.

REV. SIR,

THE trustees of the Warrington Academy have received such satisfactory testimonies of your literary and personal merit, that they are exceedingly desirous to engage you to fill up the vacant department of classical tutor, and have authorised me to treat with you on this business.

It was my intention to have waited upon you yesterday for that purpose, had I not received a letter from Mr. Godwin informing me of his design of accompanying you to Warrington next Thursday. As Dr. Aikin (whose infirm state of health confines him at home) wishes very much for the pleasure of an interview with you, and as some of the trustees may possibly give you the meeting on that day, you will, I hope, excuse me, if, in-

[f] See Sup. p. 211.

stead of paying my respects to you in Liverpool, I take the freedom to request that you will favour us with your company here; when all the particulars respecting the offices of the department you are requested to accept, and the appointment annexed to it, shall be fully explained.

In the mean time, permit me, Sir, to assure you, that the idea I have formed of your character leads me to promise myself great pleasure from the connection which, I hope, will take place; and that I shall always think myself happy in doing every thing in my power to render your situation agreeable. I shall hope for the pleasure of your company at my house on Thursday, and as long as you can make it convenient to stay.

I am, very respectfully,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
WILLIAM ENFIELD.

LETTER VII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Oct. 12, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED, with the small pamphlet, your very obliging letter. I am as indifferent to applause and censure in general as most men; but the approbation of the virtuous and discerning I know how to value, and therefore hold your good opinion in the greatest estimation. But I look upon myself as one who can exactly balance his own merit; and it is this presumption of my skill in self-adjustment (if I may so speak) that unables me to appropriate your encomiums. My pursuits of late have been directed to the acquirement of useful, rather than splendid, qualifications, and will be occupied henceforth, for the most part, only in "that noblest science, to be good."

You think too well, by far, of my literary proficiency. As to the offer of your correspondence, believe me when I say that I know

scarcely one, whose communications are likely to supply more pleasure or improvement. My business at the Academy engrosses much of my time, and has diverted my studies in some measure into another channel; but I shall be glad if you will accept of a letter now and then, at my leisure, and can find in sincerity and freedom a compensation for every other excellence.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

If you should be disposed to learn Hebrew, Masclef's Hebrew Grammar is to be sold cheap in Dr. Brown's collection at Manchester.

LETTER VIII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* MARTIN.[g]

Warrington, Nov. 4, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

I AM too sensible of the value of your communications, to suffer a formality to occa-

[g] Rector of St. Peter's, Nottingham, on the death of that gentleman's wife.

sion an interruption of our correspondence. Besides, inattention on my side would be altogether inexcusable; as I well know that you have been of late in no disposition to impart any thing to your friends but sorrow, or to receive any thing but consolation.

It is mercifully ordered by the Father of our spirits, that our bitterest afflictions are not always the least supportable. The recollection of them is attended by a kind of pensive pleasure: we are solicitous indeed of seeking some alleviation of the anguish, but not an extinction of the sensation. In the language of the prophet, *we refuse to be healed.*

But the dictates of Christianity are the only comforters in the day of trouble. They teach us the utter nothingness of all earthly contingencies and attachments, by weighing them in the balance with God, Heaven, and Eternity. We are admonished by the word of truth to esteem these chastisements of the hand of the Almighty, though grievous, it may be, for the present, as ultimately productive of permanent and substantial good, and to receive them not with sorrow and reluctance, but rather with exultation; as indisputable proofs of the love of *our Father who is in heaven.*

You experience, I doubt not, the inexpressible satisfaction afforded by the hopes and consolations of our religion on such mournful occasions; and need not my suggestions either to inform or remind you of these resources. But I am now no stranger to the feelings which congenial affections and the most intimate attachment can excite: and offer not so much a tribute of friendship, as the effusions of a sympathising heart.

It has been said that we receive a degree of pleasure from the calamities of others; which does not, however, arise from *their* distress, but from *our* security. I am sure that the comparison of our own troubles with the severer afflictions of other men, may create a pardonable satisfaction in the breast of the most benevolent, and ought to be applied by all as a very powerful persuasive to gratitude and acquiescence.

For my part, I hope I shall never read the Proœmium to the sixth book of Quintilian's Institutes, which contains a detail of the almost unexampled distresses of that excellent man; but I shall thank God, and be happy.

Amidst all the vicissitudes of life, may we both keep our eyes immoveably fixed on that

better state of existence, where "there shall be no more crying nor sorrow; where all tears shall be wiped from our eyes."

I am, dear Sir,
Your's, with great sincerity and regard,
GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER IX.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Feb. 27, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

I SEIZE one of my first intervals of peace and recollection to acknowledge your last favour and services. Indeed, I perceive myself engaged in such a variety of business, that I can hardly find leisure for the indulgence of one of the most pleasing occupations of life—a communication with friendly and intelligent correspondents. And yet, I believe, this embarrassment is chiefly of my own creating; as I never lose sight of my grand object, improvement in *Theology:* or rather

pursue it with unrelaxing perseverance; though the avocations of my appointment here are on several accounts very irksome, and would be so in a much greater degree, if they were not happily tempered by some alleviating circumstances.

What I wish is, to see a fair translation of the New Testament, and an unprejudiced display of its precepts, as they are, independent of system, and laboured expositions, as the grand essential to the rectification of speculative error, and the establishment of some tolerable uniformity of opinion. When I say speculative, I include something more than is generally apprehended from that term; as I am well persuaded, that there is no religious truth, unconnected with an upright and honourable practice.

I am happy to hear of your advancement in this most important walk of literature, and make no doubt that your enquiries will be productive of utility to others and permanent satisfaction to yourself.[h] You will be cautious in your application of the term *natural religion:* it is a dangerous and indeterminate expression. What are we to understand by it? Either re-

[h] This alludes to a projected work of his correspondent in defence of revelation.

ligious truth as *discoverable* by unassisted reason: or as actually *discovered* by it prior to the promulgation of Christianity. In the latter acceptation, we must seek for it in the writings of the Pagan world, where it will not appear to very great advantage, though investigated, more or less, by some of the most sagacious and comprehensive minds that ever illuminated human life.[1] If we adhere to the former sense, we may, indeed, draw out a system, *apparently* the result of unenlightened reason, and unconnected with revealed wisdom. But when we consider how much our faculties have been expanded by an early and unceasing intercourse with the sublime precepts of the Christian dispensation, and how much we owe to that source, though we be not sensible of our obligation, and cannot disentangle mere *natural* from *revealed* knowledge, with all our ingenuity and caution: when we consider this, we shall be at a loss in what to acquiesce as the suggestions of solitary reason, and shall not extend the limits of natural religion beyond the discoveries of *heathen* writers.

[1] See the same subject discussed by Mr. Wakefield in "Mem." II. 23 and 24; also his "Evid. of Christianity," Remark iii.

Nor does the word *reason* appear to me quite unexceptionable, as commonly used, when opposed to *revelation*. In what situation do we think mankind would at this moment be, independent of all revelation? Those notions of a future state, being of a God, &c. are in my opinion *hereditary*, though demonstrable when once known and properly considered: for the human mind does not seem to differ from the faculties of brutes so much in native strength as in a capacity of cultivation. I hope you will persist in your plan, as it is well worthy of your diligence and abilities.

My wife is now well again, and desires her compliments. I wish I could say as much for the *civility* of her little one. But alas! he is at present of "a slow speech, and of a slow tongue;" which words, by the by, gave rise to Voltaire's flippant remark upon the hesitancy of impostors—"Moses ne begazoit-il pas?"

When can we see you for a few days? I have no immediate intention of visiting your quarters.

Believe me yours,
With great sincerity and regard,
GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER X.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, April 26, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

HAD I been able to suggest any thing material respecting your projected Sermon before the Trustees of the Infirmary, I should not have delayed answering your letter so long. No kind of subject has been more, or better enlarged upon in all its forms than that of *Charity*; and none, under such disadvantages, affords more ample scope for a pathetic discussion.

When I harangued upon the Charity School business, I preached from "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another:" and perhaps a subject which has more than one aspect is preferable on these occasions. What I mean is this: *e. g.* on the preceding text, I took an opportunity to specify the characteristic doctrine of Christ, and to recommend that branch of it particularly, which was most demonstrative of

true Christian benevolence—disinterested charity; and to urge them to this duty from the consideration of their Christian profession. You have chosen, I doubt not, some view of the subject, which will lead to an improving and persuasive discourse. The passions surely can at no time be more safely and usefully engaged, than when the success of a design chiefly depends on the internal feeling, and that feeling is so meritorious.

I can easily conceive what embarrassment your weekly contribution[k] must create, especially when composed so as to satisfy your own judgment, which will not, like the generality of the goodly *children of the prophets*, acquiesce in the execution, but in the manner of it: I know some men of sense and information, who waste more time in *picking* a sermon than would have sufficed for the composition of a better: and merely through want of a little activity, and resolution, murder, in lamenting their infelicities, those opportunities which were abundantly equal to the repairing of them.

My vacant hours are chiefly occupied in ransacking the monuments of the wise men of

[k] Two sermons a week, which, his correspondent complained, occupied all his time.

old, sacred and profane, for any sparks of knowledge that are likely to reflect the least light on the Old and New Testament.[l] To what use I may hereafter apply them is at present very uncertain. I have sometimes thought that a vindication of the *Mosaic* history,[m] conducted in a proper manner, would be an useful undertaking, as it is the basis of Christianity. Some have esteemed the dispensation a mere political contrivance of the legislator: and have discovered no evidence, internal or external, of its authenticity superior to that of other impostures. Indeed, I have some doubt myself how far it is defensible upon the idea of an absolute immediate communication from the Deity, without respect to any prior usages and notions adopted by the *Israelites* during their intercourse with the *Ægyptians:* for it should seem from ancient history, as if no small part of their policy was derived from the religious observances of that people.[n] It may be said too, what have we

[l] See Sup. p. 236.

[m] It is much to be regretted that Mr. Wakefield never accomplished a work which was so often in his intentions. See "Evidences of Christianity," Preface; and Advertisement subjoined to his "Letter to Sir John Scott."

[n] It is well known that Mr. Wakefield's later opinions on this subject were very different from those which he has here

to depend on but the veracity alone of the people interested, who were likely to refer their origin and institutions as a nation, like other people, to divine appointment? And I think it would require very clear and powerful testimony to authenticate this dispensation to a discerning and inquisitive mind: which, I apprehend, may be produced.

Nothing has appeared to me more detrimental to the cause of Christianity, than a cautious concealment of the difficulties with which it is environed. Besides the suspicion naturally excited thereby to its disadvantage, and the disingenuity of such proceedings, it is deprived of that free discussion which will ultimately establish it on the immoveable basis of demonstration: "for we can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth." And to what do we owe the noblest vindications of our religion, but to the cavils and objections of ingenious, but malicious sceptics? Nor can

expressed. He frequently recommended a discourse by the late Dr. Woodward, on "the Wisdom of the ancient Egyptians, &c. with occasional Reflections upon the State of Learning among the Jews, and some other Nations," published in the Archæologia, IV. 212. A small tract entitled "The Originality and superior Excellence of the Mosaic Institutions demonstrated," just published by Dr. Priestley, contains a summary of the arguments on this subject.

any truth gain a permanent establishment among men, unless recommended to their understandings by candid and unequivocal argumentation.

But to the perfection of study, plenty of money and leisure are absolutely requisite.

> For a day's meal had Milton felt a fear,
> In vain Urania's voice had warn'd his ear.

"There are many things," says an old poet, "which a man dare not attempt with a hole in his coat:" and *Swift* was very positive that *Horace* kept his coach. But if a man defer his exertions till all impediments are removed, he may sit still and wish for ever; as the rustic waited till the river should run by.

I have no immediate design of seeing Liverpool, however desirous of that excursion. I am told you keep rather close at home. Above every external blessing prize your health; the vehicle of every earthly comfort. We are all well here: Mrs. W. desires her compliments.

I am, dear Sir,
Yours, sincerely and affectionately,
GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER XI.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, 1780,
Easter Sunday.

DEAR SIR,

How difficult it is to persevere in well-doing! I am now as tardy in attending to your favours, as I was before exact. But many impediments have come in my way; and, among the rest, a journey of two hundred miles, from which I returned late last night, after assisting at the interment of my grandmother. You shall hear from me again speedily.

None of those books do I want, except the first, which is rather dear: but if it contain *all* Tertullian's Works, shall be glad of it.

Alas! I cannot see Liverpool this Easter: we have no respite. "E'en Sundays shine no Sabbath-days to me," as the title-page of this letter clearly evinces. But I *must* see you at Warrington, and before another week is elapsed, you will receive a peremptory call

this way, unless you will anticipate my intention by coming immediately upon the receipt of this letter, if you can and will so much gratify

Your very affectionate friend,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

P. S. I hunger and thirst after you: don't put it off. Nil mihi rescribas, attamen ipse veni.

LETTER XII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, May 30, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I TAKE the first opportunity of answering your acceptable letters without adverting to dates, as I am a man of some business, and can presume upon a welcome to them at any time from your friendship and benevolence.

You build too much upon my investigations. This is the day of labour and enquiry;

and I therefore employ it with eagerness and perseverance, and lay up stores in my repository, not even conjecturing to what use they may be hereafter applied, or whether to any use at all. If God bless me with health and life, I may, perhaps, contribute something to the restoration of that noble edifice, the Christian dispensation, to its original majestic simplicity; which has not only been defaced by the rude hands of hostile assailants, but defiled by the unsubstantial decorations of injudicious friends. "Thou shalt not build the Lord's altar of *hewn* stones: if thou lift up a tool against it, thou hast polluted it."

The argument in defence of the Mosaic œconomy is reducible to a smaller compass, and may be proved from the Christian: the labour, therefore, is but one. If Christianity be true, the truth of Judaism is immediately and of necessity inferred. Would Christ quote the writings of an impostor? Would he give his testimony to a lie? Would God have commissioned an impostor to appear in glory with Elias, and to communicate to his Son his approaching sufferings? You will evidently perceive, by this brief account, upon what grounds I would combat the adversary. This way is, in my opinion, the most advisable by far.

At the same time I am fully persuaded that

the independent attestations to the Jewish Revelation, internal and external, are abundantly sufficient to command the acquiescence of any prudent man who will acquaint himself with them. No evidence of this kind amounts to mathematical demonstration: it is all that the most scrupulous sceptic has a right to claim, if it be highly probable: no historical evidence can be greater, and good arguments might be offered against the propriety of any greater in *religion*, which respects the *conduct* of a rational and probationary creature.

Not, however, that I should think myself obliged to accept as authentic history, every fact recorded in the canonical books of the *Old Testament*. And yet perhaps no general rule could be laid down in this case, concerning what should be rejected, and what received: and every man would differ according to his different apprehensions of the subject. To give an instance. It is related (Joshua x. 12—15) that the sun and moon stood still at the command of Joshua. Supposing the earth's diurnal rotation only to have been suspended, every particle of loose matter on the surface must have been miraculously detained in its position at that time, or the centrifugal force would have carried it away from its

place: to say nothing of the great disproportion between the miracle and its end. God, in authenticating his last and best Revelation, was not so *profuse* (if we may so speak) of his exertions. All the mighty works of his *Son* were benevolent in their object, and important in their end. Besides the context shews this particular of the relation to be extracted from another book, probably a collection of poetical pieces: and as the battle evidently appears to have commenced early in the morning, and might continue through the day, the author of the work referred to, took advantage of this circumstance, and by a sublime amplification, not unusual in the figurative raptures of Eastern poetry, magnified the appearance of those luminaries from the beginning of the battle to the end, into a suspension of their course in the midst of heaven.°

[*The rest of this letter is unfortunately torn off.*]

° See Mr. Wakefield's further illustration of this subject, "Mem." II. 31, &c. note.

LETTER XIII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, July 30, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE been somewhat dilatory, but shall make no apologies. Indeed, I have been indisposed for this fortnight past, and am not yet quite well; and have besides made a short excursion to Stockport. My indisposition more affects the mind than the body, and is nothing but a total incapacity of application to any useful business, arising in part from the langnor occasioned by the heat.

My disposition to study has been at all times exceedingly capricious, and has therefore produced long intervals of idleness;[p] and this has gained me the character of a much harder student than I ever was. What is a little surprising to myself, considering my former ardor, is, that my thirst for knowledge is actually much abated, and in my opinion, I shall never urge my researches with alacrity,

[p] See supra, p. 87.

till I am disengaged from all avocations that interfere with my own pursuits.

I like the present lineaments of your *nurseling*[q] well. I hope the care and affection of its parent will be speedily exerted in bringing it up to the maturity of a perfect man, that it may be "a burning and shining light" in its generation, warm with zeal and illuminated with knowledge.

Warburton's "Divine Legation," I never read throughout, but have only consulted it occasionally. It is, I believe, a well-stored magazine of learned disquisition and useful information, and might, I should think, be of service to you in your projected work.

I cannot be surprised at your impatience in your present situation. Nor do I think, as you seem resolved (and with reason) to relinquish it, that you can adopt your measures for that purpose too soon.

> *Optima quæque dies* miseris mortalibus ævi
> *Prima* fugit: subeunt morbi, tristisque senectus.[r]

And your preference for London seems judi-

[q] Referring to some projected work of his correspondent.

[r] Georg. iii. 67.

"Our best of days advance with double speed,
Diseases, pains, a ghastly troop! succeed;
With care, and labour, and complaining age."

WARTON.

cious, as it is the most conspicuous and promising theatre for *predicatorial* exhibitions.

The station of life which I had once represented to myself as the perfection of terrestrial felicity, was, the possession of a competent country living, of a moderate parish, where religion might be preached with success, and where an exemplary and condescending demeanour might have rendered a man the father of his little flock. A situation this, never meant for the visionary who created it.

I can readily allow you to be honest from an incapacity to be a knave; *i. e.* from a well-grounded incapacity of hazarding a mean or improper action: such an incapacity as I wish the whole race of man had the happiness to labour under to the end of time.

I was sorry to leave you so abruptly the other day, but it was inevitable: and I shall moderate my sorrow, if it might prove an inducement to you to compensate the mortification, if it were only by an equivalent, which, I think, common gratitude will require at your hands. But I am sure you are not one of those estimating characters that imagine themselves to have returned a kindness by another of equal value; you will not, I hope, hesitate to repay with usury. Will you fix a day for payment, and enhance the value of it by an early

date? My time of occupation begins to draw on apace, which leaves me but little leisure for the domestic offices of friendship and hospitality.

My *ennui* and peevishness, or rather frowardness of head, is so extraordinary, that I could not by any means assure myself of completing this letter when I first began it. My wife desires her compliments. I hope your mother is well.

I am, dear Sir,
Yours affectionately,
GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER XIV.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Sept. 11, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I FIND myself obliged by the present hurry of the recommencement of our sessions to write a few lines in the way of prelude, and prevention. Your last favour shall be more

exactly attended to at my earliest leisure, and I would not wish you to think me unmindful of you, though I cannot always punctually observe the proper seasons of correspondence.

We are upon the eve of removal to a more commodious house, in an airy and pleasant situation, with the convenient appendage of a garden, and cannot on that account receive you just now with equal satisfaction: though I fear you were not so urgent upon favouring us with your company, as to render this apology necessary, or to endanger our inconvenience.

I have got a young gentleman with me in the house, and mean to take one more, who, I believe, if we can agree, is to come from Liverpool. My time before was chiefly taken up in the business of the Academy, which induced me to fill up the measure at once, that I may be able to relinquish such a busy life the sooner. Indeed, my head is exceedingly capricious, and cannot attend with profit to my own concerns, when distracted by a multiplicity of foreign avocations: nor can I pursue any regular and substantial scheme of study, by short and detached intervals. In the mean time, I shall endeavour to reap as much fruit as possible from those employments which come upon me daily.

Have you seen any of the poems of a gentleman whose name is Hayley? One of his upon History, addressed to Mr. Gibbon, appears to have great merit. At least some extracts in the Review, containing the characters of some celebrated historians, ancient and modern, gave me much gratification.

My wife desires to be remembered to you. I hope your mother is well.

I am, dear Sir,
Yours, with sincere affection,
GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER XV.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Oct. 13, 1780.

"WHAT shall I say unto my friend? what shall I speak? or how shall I clear myself?"—I am constrained to adopt the ejaculation of the patriarch; though the offence in both cases was involuntary; he was conscious

of no wrong towards the Ruler of the land, and a variety of business has made me inattentive against my will, but not forgetful of my friend.

Your promise of a speedy translation of your bodily presence to Warrington, gives me much pleasure: let not delay diminish it. I am sufficiently at liberty to enjoy a good share of your company at all times, but rather more so at the end of the week, than at the beginning. Will you fix a time? Will you say next week? Only give a line of premonition, that I may contract no engagements.

With respect to your question concerning the law of Moses, I think *Jesus* expressly affirms the worship which he was delegated to establish to be a worship "in spirit and in truth:" *i. e.* (as the context clearly shews) in spirit, in contradistinction to the ceremonial dispensation of the Jews: in truth, in opposition to the groundless notions of the Samaritans. Christianity is a religion of the heart, and therefore whatever makes part of the Jewish ritual, which was chiefly calculated for the removal of political disqualifications and external impurities, must be considered as abolished by the promulgation of Christianity. The law which Christ declares he came to complete, is the moral law, of immutable and

eternal obligation; a law, not written "with pen and ink," or engraven on tables of stone, but impressed on the living tables of the heart. Indeed, the *temple* itself was so necessary in almost all the services of the law, that the demolition of that must involve in it the abrogation of those rites which respected it.

But I rather think you propose the question with reference to *Madan*'s book,[1] which I have not seen; but have been told that some of his arguments proceed upon the usage of some approved characters in the *Bible-history*. To which it may be answered, that the *Bible* is, in many parts, merely an *historical* relation, and therefore, agreeably to the fidelity of history, frequently records the good and bad transactions of men for the admonition of future ages, without censure or approbation. Besides, *Christianity* is the perfection of right reason, and calculated to be eminently productive of the felicity of men; and, therefore, whatever may be proved to be highly rational and subservient to the general good, must, I think, be esteemed a doctrine of that dispensation. But so much may be said in confirma-

[1] "Thelypthora, or a Treatise on Female Ruin," by the Reverend Mr. Madan; a work well remembered for the severe animadversions which it drew upon its author.

tion of this opinion, that nothing but a personal conference can do justice to the subject, to which I hope soon to submit it with you.

Your intentions respecting that young gentleman are but a continuation of your benevolent and friendly attentions to me. But I will tell you my design. Three or four will be the most that I shall take. They will each have a bed-room to themselves, and a common room to study in, besides a parlour below, which they may frequent between the seasons of business, and will live in all respects like ourselves. We shall make their situation as comfortable and liberal as possible; and I shall expect them to be assiduous and attentive, as the absolute condition of their stay with me. They cannot else stay with utility to themselves, or pleasure to me. I have one already who attends some lectures at the Academy; but he is so negligent, that I hope not to keep him long. I might have had Mr. ———'s nephew, of Liverpool, but as he was designed to attend at the Academy, and I find it inconvenient not to have them to myself, as it occasions irregularity in family-hours, and hinders that immediate improvement with me, which is the great object, I declined taking him.

The expence of furniture for their accomodation, and other things considered, I have determined, and that by the advice of my friends, not to take any under £100 per annum: it is a great price; but this is not now a business of necessity with me, and I mean to discharge it with a painful assiduity to the best of my ability. I have adopted the plan since my removal to this commodious house, and my brother, at Richmond, is taking measures for its execution. I mean to take only three, but make a timely reserve of one, if any particular instance should occur, that no one may think himself aggrieved by a transgression of my agreement. Our vacation, which is two months in the summer, is the only time I should wish them to be from me.

My wife desires her best wishes.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours, very sincerely and affectionately,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER XVI.

Dr. JEBB[t] *to Mr.* WAKEFIELD.

DEAR SIR,

I RETURN you my sincere acknowledgments for the very great pleasure I received from your favour of the 5th ult. It would give me the highest satisfaction to see both the works you mention executed exactly in the manner you propose.

The bishop of Carlisle has often discoursed with me upon the subject of a new translation, and wished it might be attempted. It would not be an improper measure to hint to friends that communications would be acceptable, reserving to yourself the full power of disposing of them in the way you would approve.

I am glad that you bound your idea with the *New* Testament. I could almost wish the first attempt would reach no further than the gospels; for such a part, done with accuracy and judgment, would be productive of infinite

[t] See a former letter from this gentleman, supra, p. 213

advantage. Verses and chapters would, no doubt, be marked on the side, as in the Greek edition of Bengelius. Our excellent friend Tyrwhitt, I have no doubt, would communicate what would assist greatly in the good work.

With respect to the Epistle to the Hebrews, it would be a very valuable work to give a new translation of it; for strange are the conclusions that are deduced from it at present.

I shall rejoice to hear you are thoroughly engaged in these employments; they will indeed be worthy of your utmost attention; for nothing can be more pleasing than to diffuse the knowledge of the gospel; and nothing can do this more effectually than the rendering it intelligible and consistent to the *English* reader.

I received a letter some days ago respecting subscription to a building at Warrington. I wish it were in my power to return a better answer. The fact is, that as yet I have no property which I can call my own, and it would be injustice in me to make a parade of subscribing, when I must subscribe what would belong to others and not myself. Were I in circumstances, I should not hesitate to shew my attachment to the cause of liberty and literature, which the establishment at Warrington is so much calculated to promote.

I beg my respects to Dr. Enfield, and if you would make an apology for me, grounded on what I have mentioned, you would much oblige me. I saw young Mr. Shore, who speaks of you with great respect.

Mrs. Jebb joins me in good wishes; and

I remain, with great esteem,
sincerely yours,
JOHN JEBB.

Craven-street,
Oct. 17, 1780.

LETTER XVII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to Mr.* CRAFTON.[y]

Warrington, Nov. 16, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I BEG leave to return the books[z] you were so kind as to send me. I have not time to read them through at present, nor in-

[y] This gentleman was a Quaker, and then residing at Warrington.

[z] Barclay's Apology, and Law's Address to the Clergy.

deed do I now think I ever shall. The perusal of a few passages in each has sufficiently convinced me of the spirit that pervades them both, in which is so little conformable to my notions of these matters, that I mean to read such mystical and gloomy works no more: and in this I shall think myself entirely justifiable; as much so as you, I dare say, think yourself in not reading the journals of the Methodists.

Some years ago I was much inclined to these uncomfortable conceptions of Christianity; and I reflect upon my deliverance from them, as a mariner on his escape from the storm, with a pensive pleasure, with a mixture of horror and exultation. They are calculated, I am persuaded, to produce that worst of all mental disorders, spiritual pride; by making us fancy ourselves the peculiar objects of divine favour and illumination. They tend to create a morose solemnity of manners, an insolent contempt of the qualifications of other men, and a surly piety: all which affections are, in my opinion, completely exemplified in *Barclay*'s writings. They insensibly lead men to such excess of presumption and impiety as makes them set up for inspired teachers of the truth, usurp the province of prophets and apostles, and substitute the uncertain and ima-

ginary feelings of self-delusion for the infallible word of God.

One observation of your's I overlooked in my hurry. You say, "It cannot then be true, that if man had continued in the likeness and image of his all-perfect Creator, *every imagination of the thoughts of his heart*, should have been *only evil continually*. Such a supposition would be no less blasphemous than absurd." I observe, the last clause of Scripture should be rendered, "*though* every imagination, &c. *be* evil continually;" as you may see in the margin of the Bible, which frequently gives the best translation.

Indeed the passage, as it is now read, is, when considered with the context, quite inconclusive, and nonsensical: if such an assertion would be blasphemous and absurd, the Scriptures are chargeable with this blasphemy and absurdity: for see *Gen.* ix. 6. *James* iii. 9. which passages are a most unequivocal proof, that the image of God in man, whatever it be, is not extinct, but existing to this day in human nature.

That doctrine of the depravation of the human heart, in consequence of the fall, is most unscriptural and erroneous, dishonourable to God, and an encouragement to sinners; as *Dr. Taylor*, in his work on *Original Sin*, has

demonstrated, by evidence as clear and cogent as can be offered to the human mind. God *makes* men *upright:* but they *seek out* many inventions.

I am, Sir,
Your sincere friend,
GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER XVIII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Nov. 22, 1780.

MY VERY GOOD FRIEND,

I AM almost ashamed of sending you such small returns for your acceptable letters, but I prefer this to an entire neglect of you; and mean you to look upon them as an earnest of something more ample, though not more friendly, when leisure will permit.

Our little lad has been very ill since you left us, but is now almost recovered. I have had my brother and a newly-acquired sister over, and have been much occupied in the rites of gratulation and hospitality.

But, you will say, when will you come to Liverpool? Indeed, I will endeavour to speak to this subject, as divines say, before long, and I hope to the satisfaction of us both.

I have been contemplating the *prolusions* you left with me, though I have not yet compassed the *Siege of Jerusalem.*[y] It is a fair town, and well-fortified. Some little animadversions, chiefly on the language, I will reserve for a personal conference, if you are not in haste to have them returned.

It will give me great pleasure to understand that you do not take these make-weight letters unkindly. Believe me, the longest letter ever written could not be a more substantial pledge of my friendship and regard, nor, as I hope, assure you more satisfactorily how much

I am,

Yours, sincerely and affectionately,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

[y] A juvenile Tragedy, written by his correspondent.

LETTER XIX.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Dec. 9, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

IF no unforeseen and unexpected contingency intervene, I promise myself the pleasure of seeing you soon. Christmas Day, one of our few days of respite, falls, I think, on Monday fortnight. If I come, I must set out on the Saturday, and return on Tuesday morning at the furthest.

The season of my visit is unfavourable in one respect, as you will doubtless be unusually occupied in ecclesiastical services: but I am glad to snatch any period of suspension from business, however hallowed by mother church, and am obliged to oppose her expostulations with the decisive answer of the bold apostle: *Ye observe days, and months, and seasons and years; which were made for man, and not man for them.*

I allow that some men are gifted with such

a compliant and unclouded brain, such a facility in arranging their ideas, however dissimilar, without confusion, and such a power of close and persevering attention, as enables them to execute a variety of literary business with success. But I cannot congratulate myself upon such rare endowments. My head is *coy* and capricious, soon fatigued and soon confused, and requires to be courted into good humour by every possible expedient.[z]

And that independence of spirit which, I persuade myself, pervades the whole tenor of my principles and conduct, pursues me into the very recesses of my study; and any business that I am compelled to do (*e. g.* that of writing to my friends) lies heavier upon me, and remains much longer unfinished than any voluntary labour ten times more tedious.

I accept your desire of inspecting any productions of mine, as a proof of your regard; but alas! I am in labour, and cannot bring forth. Oh! for the obstetrical interposition of leisure and tranquillity! I shall be happy in any remarks of yours that may coincide with the objects of my enquiries, and will freely

[z] Mr. Wakefield's frequent complaints of inability to pursue his studies, were occasioned, in a great measure, by those violent pains in the head to which he had been subject for many years.

communicate what may occur to me, if calculated for your purposes.

If by *translations* we mean to entertain the reader, it is, no doubt, advisable to give scope to our fancy in a free imitation; but if we wish to furnish an exact likeness of the *author*, and to exhibit him rather than the *translator*, we must adhere to a literal translation.

The word *credible* has not indeed sufficient force; nor do I know any single English word equivalent to πιστος.

When I see you, I will give you my opinion freely upon the entertainment you left with me, as far as my judgment will authorize it. But dramatic poetry is what I have read the least, admire the least, and am the least able to criticise of all literary productions.

My promised excursion to see you at Liverpool appears in the anticipation as exhilarating as a release from a ten years' captivity to the prisoner. My wife desires her kindest remembrance. I expect company, and must conclude myself,

Very sincerely yours,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER XX.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Dec. 22, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

THIS, if nothing very unexpected intervene, will be the harbinger of my arrival to-morrow, by the stage, which, I suppose, will arrive at Griffith's sometime between five and six at night.

Indeed a fatal event had well nigh deprived me of the pleasure of this visit. Our little lad is but just recovering from a most formidable attack of sickness: he lay, to all appearance, expiring for several days, and was utterly given up by all; but was rescued from the very edge of the grave by a most wonderful deliverance.

We have had a great mortality at this place: Dr. Aikin, you know, is among the dead. But adieu. I hope soon to speak face to face.

I am yours, most sincerely,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER XXI.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Jan. 25, 1781.

THRICE have I taken up my pen to send greetings to my good friend, and thrice has it fallen from my hand. Indeed you men of leisure (for so I must call you by comparison) may perhaps admire, and censure the dilatory ways of us men of business: but a plain detail of the many avocations that have engaged me since our interview would fill a sheet. They, however, added to the contrast between personal conferences with you and these dull and distant addresses, which is never made without infinite disadvantage to the latter, and superadded to my blameable but natural and insurmountable disinclination to epistolising, make me a very untoward correspondent. Yet if you were to see what proportion my letters to you bear to those written to my nearest connexions, you would perceive a fresh proof of my sincere and friendly regards towards you.

You did not mention who were the candidates for the *sabbatical* entertainments of the corporation: I wish, however, you had succeeded to Mr. Fishwick's appointment, as connected with less fatigue, and as much respect as your present post.

I am very desirous of receiving these communications, which will add to the gravity and utility of our correspondence. All I can promise you is, the unreserved suggestions of sincerity and friendship; and, in these artificial times, undisguised thought and unaffected speech are of some value.

I yesterday began to fill up part of the breach occasioned by Dr. Aikin's removal from the scene of action, by a work of *supererogation*; that of giving lectures on the Greek Testament. I undertook it at Dr. Enfield's request, in order to detain with us to the end of the sessions two or three of our most deserving students.

Mr. Clayton is with us, but does not propose to engage in this department before another sessions. To-day we expected a meeting of our trustees to determine upon the most eligible method of enlarging our buildings, but I suppose these mountains of snow will prevent the meeting.

What do you make of Galat. i. 10, which occurred in my yesterday's lecture?

I am, dear Sir,
Yours affectionately,
GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

P. S. Give my compliments to Dr. Green, with whom I was much pleased.

LETTER XXII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Feb. 27, 1781.

AN acceptable favour from my very good friend came in upon me at the close of my morning lucubrations, and cast a gleam of cheerfulness over a dull and rainy day. To accuse you of delay and neglect would be to suggest an evil lesson against myself: the only punishment I shall inflict, will be that of disappointing you, by an immediate payment, and leaving you still my debtor; for which the leisure of this day, the least laborious of

the week, except Saturday, affords an opportunity.

Would not your sense of πειθω, Gal. i. 10,[a] require πειθω τα περι ανθρωπων, &c. the object of persuasion is in the accusative case; but how could they suppose him in any sense desirous of persuading God? Might not κατα be understood, as it often is, in all Greek and Roman authors; *Do I persuade with a view to men or God? Am I subservient to human interests, or the will of God?* Or, there is evidently an opposition between αρτι and τοτε; and if we take πειθω in the sense of most commentators, which may be well expressed by the word *conciliate*, the general meaning might be this: *In my unconverted state, I acted upon the authority and commission of men* (Acts ix. 2), *and endeavoured to shew my zeal* (Phil. iii. 6.) *for Judaism by persecuting the disciples of Christ. But can I now be supposed to accommodate my conduct to human purposes? If I now consulted my own inclinations, or those of other men, I should not be, what I profess myself, and my conduct proves me, a* SLAVE *of Christ.*

Your remark on φαρμακεία pleases me very much, and I think you have suggested the

[a] See Mr. Wakefield's note on this passage, in his Translation of the New Testament.

true meaning of the word. But your first argument for it, that St. Paul is combating real not imaginary vices, is, I apprehend, fallacious. Nothing is more common with the New Testament writers, and even with Christ himself, than to argue from popular persuasions; to advance what are called *argumenta ad hominem*. For instance, "If I by Beelzebub cast out dæmons, by whom do your children (the Jews) cast them out?" not meaning even to insinuate that such miracles were performed by them, (for what then would be the true characteristic of a teacher from God?) but intending to silence that contumacious and cavilling temper which could not be convinced. And the question could not be answered consistently with their own persuasions. Nor judge me heretical, if all those phrases of *casting out dæmons*, were mere accommodations to vulgar prejudices: at least I should be glad of a solution of this difficulty upon other principles.[b]

With respect to the lives of the *antediluvians*, it is a point of difficult determination.

[b] Mr. Wakefield discussed this subject more largely in his "New Translation of St. Matthew, with Notes," &c. 4to. 1782. See the Index to that work, article *Demoniacs*; also "Translation of the New Testament," ed. 2d. vol. ii. 291.

Some, I believe, have supposed that by years we must understand months: but though months are doubtless put for years in the *prophetical* writings, I find no proof of an interchangeable substitution; and if such could be found, this would reduce their lives almost as much below the standard, as they are at present above it, and is incompatible with Gen. vi. 3.

Supposing the Mosaic history, as we now have it, to contain the truth in general, it probably may be solved from physical causes. It appears to me from that history, that no rain fell before the flood; and would not that inundation, and the great alterations in the form of the earth, and other changes consequent upon it, materially affect the state of the air and the human frame? The change, however, in the life of man, seems to have been superinduced by an actual interference of his Maker. If you consult Gen. ch. xi. you will see that the term of life was not much lessened for many generations after the deluge; and that it settled at the present limits by a gradual decadency through a long period of time. Did you ever read bishop Clayton on the Old Testament?[c] It is worth your

[c] "Vindication of the Histories of the Old and New Testament, wherein the Mosaical History of the Creation and

perusal: I met with it in the Liverpool library. Remember that we talk over the deluge, when next we meet.

This reminds me of your question, "May I never hope to see you again?" I intend in a short time to address you to this effect in a very peremptory tone, and to insist upon the execution of your wish by a personal exhibition of yourself at Warrington.

You say you shall be glad of any observations that first occur: here is one, which, I fear, you will think hazardous. In Gal. iv. the apostle is comparing the Jewish and Christian covenants to Hagar and Sarah: in ver. 25, he says το Αγαρ, literally this thing (*i. e.* figure, character.) Hagar corresponds to the present earthly Jerusalem, which is in bondage with her children, the Jews. Does not the consistency of the figure require the following verse to be thus rendered? *But Jerusalem which is above* (i. e. *the heavenly Jerusalem*, Heb. xii. 22,) *is the free-woman* (i. e. *is represented by Sarah*), *which is the metropolis* (ἡ μητηρ πολις) *of us all.* He elsewhere says, our πολιτευμα, our citizenship, is in heaven; and on one side

Deluge is philosophically explained: In a Series of Letters to a young Nobleman." By Dr. Clayton, bishop of Clogher. 8vo. 1754. See Biog. Britt. ed. 2d. iii. 624.

you have the bond-woman, and the earthly Jerusalem; on the other the free-woman, and the heavenly Jerusalem[d]—but enough of this.

We are all here, thank God, in good health. Mrs. Wakefield desires her compliments.

I am yours,
Sincerely and affectionately,
GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER XXIII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to Mr.* CRAFTON.

Warrington, March 10, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

I THANK you for your friendly letter of last night, and those expressions of regard and esteem conveyed in it.

The question in dispute between Mr. Fothergill[e] and his antagonist, is a subject in whose

[d] See Wakefield's Translation in loc.

[e] An eminent preacher among the Quakers, who had resided at Warrington. He was brother to the late Dr. F.

decision I am in no wise concerned: being most certain, in opposition to one, that *Water-Baptism* was enjoined to Christians, and as certain, in opposition to the other, that it is unnecessary now, except to new converts from *Heathenism*, or any false religion, to the Christian faith.

My opinion is briefly this: *Water-Baptism* was in use among the *Jews*, and was the ceremony which they employed in admitting proselytes to the privileges of their religion. This ceremony was adopted for the same purpose into the Christian œconomy. I will only offer two reasons for this persuasion of mine out of many that might be adduced: 1. *Jesus* himself submitted to it, and he is generally understood to have exhibited his own conduct as a pattern to all his future disciples. My second reason is, a passage of scripture, which I think cannot be explained to any other meaning. Acts x. 44—48. But this emblematical rite was only designed for *Heathen* converts to Christianity, not for children born of Christian parents. This also I could prove by abundant evidence, if it were needful.[f]

[f] It appears (supra, p. 233) that this correspondence occasioned Mr. Wakefield's publication of "A plain and short Account of the Nature of Baptism according to the New Tes-

The books you have sent are therefore of no importance to me: for it cannot be supposed that I, who have probably read the scriptures in search of truth as much as the authors of them, and could advance, if I do not greatly deceive myself, in defence of my notions, what could not easily be confuted, can be moved from my belief by a few observations of a pamphlet. And, in any case, I should forbear reading them, till I saw Mr. O——'s performance, as it is an invariable rule with me to hear both sides: having frequently observed that an author's sentiments, considered with the context, wear a very different aspect from that delineated in broken and unconnected scraps by his opponent. It may not be amiss to mention that I have heard the late Dr. Aikin, who was a perfectly competent and impartial judge, declare that he thought Mr. O—— had the advantage in the controversy.

You mistake when you suppose that I called either Barclay, or his followers, by those odious epithets. I only said to the best

tament," &c. in which, among other topics, he enforces the doctrine of Emlyn's "Previous Question." See on this subject Mr. Frend's Letters to Bishop Pretyman, on his "Elements of Christian Theology," Letters II and III.

of my recollection, nay, I only could say, that his writings are calculated to produce the affections particularised in my letter.[s] I say so still. And if the Quakers are *not* chargeable with those vices, which I believe, they owe it to their own good understanding and other causes, more than to Barclay's book; many parts of which are written with a conceited and petulant spirit.

With what you direct to me as a minister of the church of England, I have not the least concern. It is well known that I some time since relinquished my station in that church, because of the little correspondence of her doctrines with my private persuasion; and when either she or the Quakers talk of *inspiration*, I believe neither her nor them.

I allow myself to be but imperfectly informed of the tenets of the Quakers. It has been my study to collect a religious creed from the true source of knowledge: not to examine that of other people. Amidst the great variety of discordant opinions upon articles of faith, I esteem it no mean part of *knowledge* (if you will overlook the contradiction in terms) to be *ignorant* of some things.

With respect to the doctrine of *original sin*,

[s] See Letter XVII.

I think you are also mistaken. My letter was rather an answer to yours, than a discussion of Barclay's sentiments. I do not know that I imputed that doctrine to him: it was unquestionably implied in your letter.

I should be very glad, if it were in my power to enjoy more of your society; but a variety of domestic concerns, best known to myself, added to those of a less private nature, engross my time. Of late indeed Dr. Aikin's death has engaged me almost inevitably in more business than I could wish.

Believe me, Sir,
With sincere regard and esteem,
Your humble servant,
GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

P. S. I have ventured to send you a book, bound up with some other tracts, lately published, upon the Lord's Supper. It has given me much pleasure.

LETTER XXIV.

Dr. JEBB *to Mr.* WAKEFIELD.

DEAR SIR,

I THANK you heartily for the Epistle to the Thessalonians.[h] I hope you will persevere. The bishop of Carlisle,[i] from whom the enclosed comes, highly approves the idea, and I have no doubt will speak favourably to all he sees. I was with him when he did so to the bishop of Rochester. Several of the *Hebraisms* you have marked, and explained, please me highly: a great deal may be done in that way. I should hope our friend Tyrwhitt would be very serviceable in this great cause: no man possesses a greater power of being eminently useful in it.

I have no doubt but that if you would write to the bishop of Carlisle, at Cambridge, telling fully your idea of any particular Epistle, he would send you his thoughts upon particular passages, which might be amended in the

[h] See supra, p. 232. [i] Dr. Edmund Law.

translation. You would have the power, which it is very necessary you should retain, of attending to the hints you should receive, from him, or others, as you thought proper.

I shall be happy at hearing from you at your leisure. In the mean time I will do all, in furtherance of the cause, that I can do. But my attention to business, which now grows upon me, prevents my giving so much reflection to these subjects as I could wish.

With best respects and great esteem,
I am, sincerely, yours,
JOHN JEBB.

Craven Street,
17th May, 1781.

LETTER XXV.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Bishop of* CARLISLE.

Warrington, May 19, 1781.

MY LORD,

AT the instance of Dr. Jebb, and prompted by my own knowledge of your lord-

ship's character, I have taken the liberty to return you my thanks for those observations on the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, which he has just communicated to me. They are much as I should have previously expected from a person of your extensive erudition, and intimate acquaintance with the letter and spirit of the sacred writings. I am a stranger to flattery, and lament that truth should sometimes wear the appearance of it. You will judge, my lord, how happy I should think myself in receiving more favours of this kind.

Will you bear with me, if I take this opportunity of mentioning a few things with respect to my intended translation?[k] As I was not at all sanguine in my expectations of the success of a work so little adapted to the taste of the generality, I did not explain my intention in the preface so circumstantially as I should have done: I will be more particular, if I have occasion to republish that specimen; which is possible, since I only printed two hundred and fifty copies.

I mean to have one volume of notes, merely to justify my deviations from the old version, which I shall make as concise and plain as pos-

[k] Of the whole New Testament, with notes, published in 1791. See supra, p. 355.

sible, for the satisfaction of the unlearned. I have a great variety of observations of another cast, which I think will considerably illustrate many passages of scripture, and many points of doctrine. They are for the most part new, and, as it appears to me, of importance. These will be by no means calculated for common readers: and as I should be unwilling to encumber them with what they could not use, I shall reserve them for another volume, which will be necessary to complete the design.

Though I have no doubt respecting the meaning of the first chapter of *John*, I shall be at a loss whether to render λογος by *wisdom*, or *reason*. *Wisdom* would be more intelligible, and in that similar passage, Prov. ch. viii. the Septuagint use σοφια, though the *Latin* ecclesiastical writers express the import of the word uniformly by *ratio*, as far as my observation has extended.

As to that celebrated passage, *Rom.* ix. 5, I am persuaded that the words have suffered a transposition, and that we should read ὢν ὁ επι παντων θεος,[1] which, in my opinion, finishes the finest climax in the world, *Jehovah* was

[1] "Of whom was God, who is over all." See Mr. Wakefield's vindication of this reading in his "Enquiry into the Opinions of the Christian Writers, &c." 1784, p. 167.

particularly *their* God, and they *his* people. Besides other objections to the common reading, we have this insuperable one. It is utterly improbable that *Paul*, who "became all things to all men," and used remarkable condescension both in his arguments, and conduct to conciliate the *Jews*, should confront them with a doctrine which *Jews* have, in all ages, rejected with the utmost reprobation, and still disclaim as a grand corruption of religion, unknown to their fathers, and not taught in their oracles. See *John* v. 18. Besides, *Eusebius*, in his treatises against Marcellus, where he professedly undertakes to prove that Christ is θεος επι παντων, no where mentions this text, which, if it were read in his time, as our copies have it, was the most to his purpose of any text in scripture. But I apprehend it will be necessary to adhere to the *common* reading,[m] to avoid even the appearance of subserving a system, which I should guard against with the utmost caution.

But I forget myself, my Lord, and am trespassing on your patience.

I am, with the highest esteem,
Your Lordship's most obedient servant,
GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

[m] See Mr. Wakefield's translation and note on the passage.

LETTER XXVI.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, May 25, 1781.

DEAR GREGORY,

I COULD not have made any more alterations in your sermons with confidence. Why should I blot, merely for the sake of blotting? I assure you, I did not scruple to except, when I found reason for exception.

I am sorry that I have it not in my power to be present at the celebrity of Mr. Foster's examinations: but it would interfere with the lectures of two days, a license inadmissible in the present circumstances. Besides, it is inconceivable to me of what service my presence can be to him. Another year, when I am acquainted with the nature of the business, and it appears probable that I can be of any utility to him, I will make a point of coming over. You will not fail to make my apology in the handsomest manner you can. I hope this will occasion no material disappointment.

The account I sent you of the reception of my *forerunner*[n] gave me some spirits at the time; but the ebullition has subsided, and I am now waiting with submissive silence for the more general opinion of the public. Indeed, indeed *Theology*, I fear, has not charms to captivate the depraved sense of modern times. They relish better the meretricious fopperies of farce and novel.

Mr. Rathbone promised to send me *Purver*[o]—is not that the name? It is possible he may suggest something useful; and I shall discover that by reading a page or two. But there is an utility to be derived from every writer, of which, perhaps, you are not thoroughly aware. For instance, when I hear such a preacher as Mr. ——— and Mr. ———, I observe them attentively, as perfect models of the manner in which I ought *not* to preach.

Yours most sincerely,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

[n] Alluding to the commendation of his 1 Ep. Thess. by Dr. Jebb and the Bishop of Carlisle. See the two preceding letters.

[o] A translation of the Bible, in 2 vol. fol. 1764, "by Anthony Purver," a Quaker, printed at the sole expence of the celebrated physician Dr. Fothergill.

LETTER XXVII.

The Bishop of CARLISLE[P] *to Mr.* WAKEFIELD.

REV. SIR,

I AM favoured with yours of the 19th instant, and heartily wish success to your laudable undertaking, having long been desirous of seeing some farther attempts made toward a more accurate translation of the Bible; or at least some proposals offered for receiving such brief remarks, both on the original text and English version, as would, in all probability, be poured in by several who have made collections in the course of their reading to that purpose.

[P] Dr. Edmund Law; of whom Mr. Wakefield thus speaks in his miscellaneous papers:—"He was distinguished by a gentleness of temper, most conciliating and inoffensive, by a simplicity of manners primitive and evangelic. He countenanced my studies with his approbation, and furthered them by his communications, and honoured me by *several* letters written with a trembling hand in the extremity of age."

The Bishop died in 1787, aged 84. Unfortunately the above is the only letter found among Mr. Wakefield's papers.

I had often mentioned the thing to our friend Jebb, reminding him of another friend of the same turn (Mr. Blackburn) who must, I suppose, be provided with such a collection, and likewise offering a perusal of my interleaved Bible, could it be conveyed to any such person at a distance, with more safety than by a common carrier. As a specimen of such brief notifications, I transcribed what related to 1 Thess. but in such an imperfect manner, having no books then by me, as I could not expect much to be made of it, though you are so polite as to express no little approbation of the hints contained in it, which gives me sufficient encouragement to communicate my thoughts freely on the subject, and method of your undertaking.

And 1. To suggest a query, whether the first set of notes proposed (if there must be two distinct sets) should not be placed under the text, which I apprehend to be abundantly the most convenient for the generality of readers.

2. Whether you should so far adhere to the vulgar reading, as to exclude *various* ones from appearing, and taking their chance for gaining admittance with the public, (as *Wetstein* observes, and Dr. *Harwood* has often practised in his "*Liberal Translation*") considering in what

a careless, and even casual, manner our present text came to be originally settled, and the divisions of chapter and verse fixed very hastily, though numbers of valuable emendations have since been made in that, and the pointing, (particularly *interrogations*) where ancient manuscripts have no place.

As to the celebrated passage in *Rom.* ix. 5, I entirely agree with you that the words have suffered a transposition, and therefore inserted the alteration in my copy with a reference to *Rom.* i. 25 and *Ephes.* iv. 6; and I could almost wish that another reading, which I lately met with in *R. Stephens*, 2d. edition, had kept its ground (though seemingly repugnant to the following observation) which most foreign lexicons retain, but which has been excluded from our copies perhaps from its coming too near our English phrase, *time-serving*, viz. *Rom.* xii. 11. τῳ Καιρῳ διδασκοντες, instead of Κυριῳ,[q] which seems to have no distinct meaning at all where it now stands.

3. And upon the whole, whether you should not chiefly strive to preserve a truly liberal

[q] Mr. Wakefield adopting this reading in his translation, renders the passage "serving yourselves of the opportunity," in preference to the reading of the common version "serving the Lord." See also Archbishop Newcome's translation. Margin and note in loc.

spirit in treating the sacred scriptures, instead of labouring to *avoid the appearance of subserving a system*, &c.[r] and rather avoid a place among the Καπηλευοντες τον λογον[s] than being classed with any party of men who from their interpretation of some passages may have got the reproachful name of *Socinians*, &c.

But you will be so good as to excuse all this freedom on the first acquaintance, since I have had so long experience of our wanting, above all things, to be thoroughly acquainted with the *scripture phraseology*, and *method of reasoning*, (which is as far removed from ours as *east* from *west*,) and been as often made sensible of our danger of being driven from the truth by that same *odium theologicum* which still prevails too much among divines, and whereof I have formerly had my full share, and, therefore, may perhaps be allowed to speak more feelingly.

The term *wisdom*, in the beginning of *John*, is, I apprehend, the better of the two renderings, though both of them are attended with some difficulties, which appear quite foreign to the general scope of his gospel.

But I must again beg of you to excuse the

[r] See Letter XXV. ad fin.

[s] Corrupters of the word. 2 Cor. ii. 17.

premature liberties I am taking, and which would have been more proper for a conference than a hasty letter; and believe me to be, with great truth,

Your very affectionate brother,

E. CARLISLE.

LETTER XXVIII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Bishop of* CARLISLE.

Warrington, June 1, 1781.

YOU will begin, my lord, to think me importunate, and obtrusive; but I promise to give you no further trouble after this letter.

I must thank your lordship heartily for your condescension, and acknowledge that I have reaped much benefit from your generous communications. In conformity to some intimations in your letter, I have determined to execute my projected work in a more elaborate and critical manner. Indeed, a prudential timidity and reserve make no part in the composition either of my temper, or my

conduct, as I have already shewn on several occcasions, and will hereafter shew, if God permit.

I entirely agree with your sagacious and learned friend the archdeacon of Richmond,[t] that the cause of religion, *pure and undefiled*, will never be effectually served without frankness and resolution. It shall be my endeavour to write for the free and disinterested student of theology, without paying any regard to systems and opinions, however predominant, and sanctified by authority. Whenever I have entertained any thoughts of acting in a manner that might appear timid and prudential, I have been influenced by the advice of friends, and a fear of appearing pertinacious, in opposition to my own judgment and inclination.

With respect to the interleaved Bible, which your lordship is so kind as to offer; I shall be at *Cambridge* during the next commencement, and, with your indulgence, will take it under my own immediate care.

I will employ the remainder of this paper in transcribing a few miscellaneous observations on the New Testament,[u] which you will

[t] Dr. Blackburne.

[u] These observations have not been found among Mr. Wakefield's papers, but they were probably inserted in his Notes on the New Testament.

perhaps accept as some sort of compensation for the favours you have conferred upon

Your lordship's most obedient servant,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER XXIX.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Aug. 18, 1781.

DEAR GREGORY,

ON this day, whether I heard from you or not, I intended to salute you with a letter of a few lines: few, observe, because I am preparing with great eagerness for a fishing-scheme; a diversion of which I am very fond,* because it allows the benefit of fresh air, bodily and mental recreation, without precluding social converse. A diversion, however, which I rarely enjoy, for want of a brother-fisherman.

* But which he afterwards entirely abandoned from a doubt as to the moral tendency of such amusements.

Like the epic poet, I shall, after this exordium, plunge into the very essence and cream of my business with you at once, and ask you, when you can come to Warrington. Most assuredly I must see you before the dull day arrives, and ushers in the commencement of our perennial sessions. I am prevented from coming to you by the daily expectation of the arrival of a gentleman from Ireland to convey Mr. P—— from our house.

I have not found myself so comfortable for a long time past, and exult in the thought of enjoying perfect freedom of study during the ensuing year. This has induced me to anticipate your advice; and I am now sedulously occupied in renewing and enlarging my acquaintance with the heroes, the *οἱ μαχαιρται*, of Greece and of Rome. My chief view in this, is to furnish me with a store of philological criticism on the *New Testament*.

Another obstacle to a visit, on my side, is the printing of that essay[y] which I shewed you in manuscript. It will be finished, I expect, in about a fortnight. It has been retouched, and, I hope, improved. This little performance was exceedingly well received by

[y] "An Essay on Inspiration, considered chiefly with respect to the Evangelists." See supra, p. 233.

all good judges at *Cambridge:* but more of this self-concernment face to face.

Miss Seward's last elegy[2] I have read, and copious extracts from the first.[3] I am a most fastidious reader of English poetry. She seems to have a rich imagination, and great facility of expression, with a good poetical taste. But the conduct of her last piece is bad; and her execrations of Washington, &c. are indeed execrable. There are now and then two or three couplets extremely fine, and six verses together supereminently so in the "Monody on Major Andre." I was disappointed upon the whole.

If you persevere in your resolution to go to London, you must transfer your person thither by all means, and with all expedition. A *country* air will be good for your cold, and particularly that of Warrington, which is delightfully attempered by a sweet variation of land and sea-breezes.

Yours, very affectionately,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

[2] "Monody on Major Andre," 1781.

[3] "Elegy on Captain Cooke," 1780.

LETTER XXX.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Sept. 14, 1781.

DEAR GREGORY;

I GIVE you up for this week, but renew my attack upon you, if peradventure I may beat you from your quarters some time in the coming week. Our sessions are begun: they call to mind a verse very common in Greek tragedies, which has all the simplicity you can desire.

Αι, αι, αι, αι, αι!

I wish my essays may not lay a dead weight upon Crane's[b] activity, and that you may find in the treatise nothing unbecoming me as a man of independence; mental, I mean, not pecuniary independence. Do not let this

[b] A bookseller at Liverpool, to whom Mr. Wakefield had sent some copies of his "Essay on Inspiration."

hasty letter derange the regularity and obnubilate the perspicacity of your ideas.

In short, I have nothing to say, but when will you come over? My theological sallies will now be suspended for a time, and I shall wait the issue of this publication. It will not be prudent for me to publish, so as to be a material loser: it is but a dear profession; though I shall not be discontented at a moderate balance in my *disfavour*. I had only two hundred and fifty printed, and the sale of one hundred and thirty will secure me.

Contrive to protract your stay when you do come, and do not labour under the fastidious idea of being troublesome, &c. it is most erroneous. We make no stranger of you; though your unfrequent appearance would entitle us to regard you in that light.

There is no easy curacy in Liverpool for a friend of mine?

Mrs. Wakefield desires her compliments.

Yours, very sincerely,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER XXXI.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Sept. 22, 1781.

DEAR GREGORY,

I HAVE sent you a devotional tract[c] to bring your mind into a due degree of seriousness, preparatory to meeting of your diocesan and spiritual father, and the celebration of that awful solemnity of *confirmation.*

I will thank you to send a dozen to Crane's, and keep one for yourself. You observe I saddle you with the carriage: but set it to my account; I will repay it.

I take it for granted that you mean to see us on the week after the bishop's departure: so I say no more on that head.

This said matter is quite a σχεδιασμα; but it is a subject which I have long considered, and some conversation which I had at the beginning of this month with a brother divine

[c] His "Plain and short Account of Baptism," &c. See Letter XXIII. note.

sent me home in haste to put together what I now send you. Tell me your opinion of it freely, as to the pertinency of the arguments.

You must not fail to bring the Liverpool paper, which you speak of, with you: I have no means of seeing it. You are "persecuted, but not destroyed." Perhaps my preface and conclusion will solace you a little. The rest when I see you, both of yourself and myself.

Adieu.

Yours, most sincerely,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER XXXII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Sept. 24, 1781.

DEAR GREGORY,

GIVE me leave to say, that you do not seem to have read with attention my preparatory observations on the text from 1 Cor. vii. 12—15. *Taylor*'s "Key," prefixed to his

"Commentary on the Romans," first set me right in my notions upon *holiness*. I will comprize my argument in a syllogism, which I am sure is unanswerable.

If the sole end of baptism be to make a man *holy*, what answers that end supersedes baptism:

But the being born of Christian parents makes a man *holy:*

Therefore that supersedes baptism.

I am the more confident in this matter, because I once proposed my arguments, when I had no intention of publishing them but merely to satisfy myself, to Dr. Aikin, who confessed that he could not refute them. Nor is there a man in England who was better versed in ecclesiastical history than he.

When I was at Cambridge, a few months since, I proposed them incidentally in conversation to a gentleman, who has been a close student in theology these twenty years, and is esteemed by all a man of great knowledge and acuteness: he confessed himself unable to object.

I am persuaded therefore that I cannot be confuted, and I am sure that nobody will undertake it, but upon the unreasonable grounds of prudence and prescription. From the sa-

cred scriptures, to which I appeal, they will be able to produce nothing in their favour.

I am in haste, but could not avoid saying something for my own sake upon the subject.

Yours, most sincerely,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER XXXIII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Sept. 25, 1781.

DEAR GREGORY,

HAVING today a little leisure, and much inclination not to incur from you a charge of pertinacity and contempt, I shall reply to your letter more fully; and then I shall put a stop to epistolising upon it; for the reasons mentioned at the end of my treatise.

Nothing can make me forego my esteem for the Reverend G. Gregory, the *man*, and my love for Gregory the *friend*; but Mr.

Gregory the *controversialist* I shall treat without ceremony.

In the first place, it is to no purpose to talk about baptism in a *general* way.

If my arguments are legitimate, they overthrow baptism altogether: *they* therefore must be refuted. You begin with the poor plea of *prudence* and *custom*, and the *primitive church*. I am surprized at you. What regard did *Jesus Christ* pay to *custom*, when he censured doctrines merely because they were the commandments of men? And, I pray, what authority can the primitive church give to an institution? Did not *antichrist* begin to appear even in the apostle's time? Tertullian himself incidentally mentions that they had deviated from the proper mode of conducting baptism in his days. You might as well talk with the papists about an *infallible head*. Such objections deserve no answer.

You say that the apostle does not specify a sanctification independent of baptism. I say he does; and that you cannot take off the syllogism I sent you yesterday. You add, "we know that baptism alone cannot make a man holy."—I insist that it can, according to the scriptural meaning of that word, which, I must beg leave to say, you do not appear to

have any adequate apprehension of. As for your suppositions about the apostle's views, in making that observation which I quoted from him, they are, like mine, mere conjectures. Which suits the context and the spirit of the New Testament best, neither of us are the proper judges.

When you continue "you will observe that baptism is not mentioned in the text, not even the baptism of the parents; he speaks simply of *believing*:" I do not understand you, but think your ideas about the import of these technical words not very clear.

You say, "if baptism was salutary to my parents, why not to me?" It never was salutary, in a *moral* view, to any body; nor can possibly be.—"Some initiating ceremony," you say, "has always been used," &c. and that "a person ought to make a public profession of his intention to conform to the rules of that society." Ought he so? how is it then that you have continued so long under the dominion of King George, without making this declaration? I desire that, upon the receipt of this letter, you would set off to the mayor, and make an affidavit that you are *bonâ fide* a good subject to his majesty, and beg pardon for having neglected it so long. Surely,

surely a man shews himself a Christian by going to public worship, &c. and doing as other Christians do. Of what advantage, or what security is your baptism when, perhaps, nobody in Liverpool can know it, but your mother?

"Where the form is perfectly innocent, I see no need of reformation." O! commend me to the innocence and purity of our baptismal form and its appendages! But I have said enough about that in the pamphlet.[d]

The scripture-meaning of the term *child of wrath*, you utterly misunderstand, and talk very unscripturally about Adam's transgression.

What you say about the promises at baptism does not exculpate those who make them, from falsehood and profaneness.

You "have known very good effects from confirmation?" And, I doubt not, many a popish priest has been witness to very great benefit from auricular confession, &c. but what is all this to the purpose? Who will be secure in doing evil that good may come? Alas! there would be no end to my objections, so here I stop, and bid adieu to G. the *contro-*

[d] See the Tract on Baptism, p. 64—71.

versialist, and commend myself to G. the *friend*, as one who is sincerely and affectionately his

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

I have many arrows, as Pindar says, in my quiver: but I shall enter the list with no combatant, who may attack me from the press, except he directs his shafts with ability. As I am ready to retract any error, so I shall take care to advance nothing but what I can abundantly defend against any adversary: and armed with the authority of the gentleman I spoke of,[e] I have great confidence in being able to make good my attack upon baptism.

Remember next week.

LETTER XXXIV.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Sept. 27, 1801.

VERY pretty, truly! to solicit a new loan before the payment of an old debt, and

[e] See Letter XXXII.

even to make a promise of the former the only condition of discharging the latter! However, I shall accept the second proposition of your dilemma, and rather have you for days three weeks hence, than for one next week.

I mean to see you, provided you fulfil this promise before Christmas, and demean yourself properly in staying here a competent time, when you do come. In the mean time, I have advanced to the eleventh chapter of Matthew, in an elaborate comment and translation of that gospel. I wish you could see some of it. I think it will please; but this is vanity.

Yours very sincerely,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

P. S. An answer has appeared to my sixpennyworth of Divinity, smart and keen, but fallacious.[f]

Has Crane sold my books?

[f] This refers to a short answer to the tract on Baptism, by a neighbouring clergyman.

LETTER XXXV.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Sept. 30, 1781.

DEAR GREGORY,

As I am not always very scrupulous in giving hasty answers to correspondents myself, I made no unfavourable interpretation of your silence. If I had not thought that we were too well known to each other to be so affected, I might have supposed my answer to have given you offence: but I did not suppose it.

This dull and rainy weather makes me doubly indisposed to communicate my thoughts upon the question you propose, by letter. By word of mouth, I am ready to confer, at your request, upon any subject, though not forward to begin a conversation which may interfere with the peace of another's mind. In the mean time you seem to have forgotten your intention of coming hither. I presume from one of your late letters, that this is a leisure

week. Next week I shall be myself engaged. You see the dilemma to which I have reduced you. Take care to extricate yourself with dexterity.

You are right in supposing that *holy* often means *internally*, and *strictly* so. No doubt it does. All that I wish is, to have the other meaning granted, not meaning to exclude the proper one. It is not unlikely that I might misunderstand you.

I think you are deceived in supposing a multitude of answerers. If my essays are not sold, or are in no way of being sold at Liverpool, we can dispense with them here, as we are in want. I begin to think it probable that the whole impression (250) may be sold. I shall be glad, as it will give me an opportunity to add and improve. I could also enlarge and fortify my other treatise.[s]

My head is rather disposed to ache.

Yours most sincerely,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

[s] Mr. Wakefield here refers to his "Essay on Inspiration," and the "Plain and Short Account of Baptism;" his own copies of which contain many valuable additional remarks.

LETTER XXXVI.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Oct. 4, 1781.

DEAR GREGORY,

CONCERNING the questions, which you propose, I have many things to say; but I forbear to write fully, trusting that I shall shortly see you.

You can be in no doubt, I apprehend, respecting my opinion of the *holy spirit*, you rather wish to know the grounds and reasons of my opinion.

As early as the year 1775 or 76 I began to entertain some scruples about the separate existence of such a being, excited by my initiation into the *Hebrew* language, and the *phraseology* of the Bible. More extensive reading, maturer reflexion, and continued diligence have persuaded me as clearly as a mathematical demonstration could have done, that the expression only denotes *the energy of God:* as " — by the word of the Lord were the heavens

made, and all the host of them by the breath, *or spirit* of his mouth."—So that his *word*, and his *spirit* are the same thing, i. e. God himself. Luke says—" the holy spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the highest, &c." You might as well make the power of God a distinct being as his spirit. " When Israel saw the waggons which Joseph had sent, the spirit of Jacob revived—" i. e. Jacob himself.—" The things of a man knoweth no one, but the spirit of a man, that is in him:" i. e. the man himself—" so no one knoweth the things of God, but the spirit of God:" i. e. God himself.

Nothing is so common in the Bible, as to express the same thing in different words. This, you know, is abundantly evident, and is much insisted on by *Bishop Lowth*.—" Lo what is man," &c.—" and what the Son of man," &c. meaning still the same thing.—" My spirit shall not always strive with man—but I will bring a flood of waters," &c.—therefore God and his spirit are the same being.[h]

There would be no end to quotations or observations upon this subject, I shall say no

[h] See this opinion illustrated by Mr. Wakefield more at large in his " Commentary on St. Matthew," pp. 7—12. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader of Lardner's accurate examination of this subject in the first Postcript to his " Letter on the Logos," Lardner's Works, xi. 126.

more by letter, that we may have enough to talk about to detain you at Warrington a reasonable time.

Mrs. W. desires her compliments.

Yours, most sincerely,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER XXXVII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Jan. 30, 1782.

DEAR GREGORY,

I HAVE, by a negligence not very common to me, some where mislaid your last letter, and have only a faint recollection of its contents, which I shall be very glad to discuss as soon as you please, and as long as you please, at Warrington. As far as my memory can recall them, your projected disquisition will be (to speak a parliamentary language,) more calculated for the meridian of *Judea* than *Christendom.* The propositions are such as have never been disputed among Christians, excepting one, which is not so clear: which is, that

Christ meant to abolish the Jewish law. Now this may be pretty clearly inferred from several considerations, but cannot be demonstrated from the *Gospels*. Nay, some particulars of his sayings and conduct have a contrary aspect.[1]

I want to see you, to communicate to you some particular observations in the progress of my undertaking about which I am doubtful, and if I could tell when you would fulfil your promise and come, I would select them beforehand. Now consider, that, if you take a final leave of your settlement in Liverpool so early as in March next, it will be soon nccessary for you to come over to maintain your character for fidelity: and how much more will it redound to your credit to make the visit voluntary than reluctant.

Of late, I have been more assiduous in reading, and devour the dead daily with a most voracious appetite; and find them very nutritious.

Mr. Crafton has called in, and puts a period to this letter.

Yours, very affectionately,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

i See a paper on the "Perpetuity of the Jewish Ritual," by Dr. Priestley, in Theol. Repos. v. 424.

LETTER XXXVIII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, July 17, 1782.

DEAR GREGORY,

You will not be justified in conceiving so highly of my critical talents. The truth is, I have no remarks of the kind you mention in my possession: for it never has been my custom to commit much to paper; and what assistance I could contribute in that way must either be by interrogation in personal conference, or by remarks upon published compositions.

I have been often importuned to make a small selection from the best Greek and Roman authors, in distinct volumes, for the use of our academy and other places of education. We have not time to go through entire books; and they are generally printed with the Latin, which is the worst practice possible, and destructive of all proficiency. There is a selection of this kind already, but most injudiciously

compiled. Do you think any bookseller would give one something for it? If it should be received in schools, it might answer to them: and I will make it with the utmost care, and from the most approved writers. But observe, I do not wish to make you my literary pimp.

My best wishes attend the prosecution of your proposed lectures. Have you seen my brother yet, or any of my annotations?

I cannot help contrasting your situation with my own. On one side, flattering prospects, useful employments, and elation with honest hope. On the other, dissatisfaction with an unprofitable appointment (to others, I mean) without the faintest probability of an alteration; and exile from the best friends and relations.

Believe me, with all sincerity,

Your affectionate friend,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

Have you read "Knox on Education?" It is an admirable performance.

LETTER XXXIX.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Sept. 7, 1782.

DEAR GREGORY,

IF there be a quality, in which I may profess myself to excel without the imputation of vanity, it is that of punctuality in my professions. Not that I shall, perhaps, be always so exact in the article of correspondence; because I am not likely to enjoy the same leisure, and the same disinclination to severer study, which are my lot during the vacation and in fine weather. In every other quality you may, doubtless, engage in competition with me under the fullest assurance of success. The want of some friend of similar pursuits to converse with, and the still greater *desideratum* of books to read, and consult, will prove insuperable obstacles to much advancement in theological knowledge, whilst I continue in this place. And which is the better school for general improvement, London or Warrington—

the crowded city, or the sequestered country-town?

I am heartily glad, that my brother and you are brought acquainted with each other. Partiality does not mislead me, when I affirm, that the world cannot furnish a more benevolent, disinterested, and sincere character than he; or one (as you will perceive) more desirous of my reputation.

You gave me uncommon pleasure by your approbation of what you have seen of my *Commentary.* The applauses of a select number of virtuous and judicious people will satisfy my ambition.

I cannot tell where you must find Burt. He would exult in doing me any service. He is upon terms of greater intimacy with me than, I dare say, with any other person in the world. So great is our regard and familiarity, and his goodness of heart, that, if he were elevated to the primacy, and I in the meanest station, we should find it an impossibility to use any other terms of address on both sides, than those of Bob and Gill. If you think you can find him, I will enclose a letter to him in the next frank to my brother.

It is my opinion, (but, observe, it is not to be communicated to any living soul, but my brother) that our seminary is on the decline,

from certain constant effects, not to be remedied, which must, sooner or later, produce the downfal of its present establishment.

I do assure you, I have before my eyes a retreat into privacy, (as there is not the least prospect of any honourable emoluments for me in the great world;) where I shall be in the state described by the poet:

"The world forgetting, by the world forgot."

which, by the by, is borrowed from *Horace*,

"*Oblitusque meorum, obliviscendus et illis.*"

In fact, I can hardly be more removed from society in any situation, than I am in this: for, except our weekly meeting, which is very agreeable and refreshing,[1] there is no one here, with whom I can associate, with a view to literary entertainment. My coadjutors are so engrossed by study and other occupations, as to borrow no hours *(horas subsecivas)* from business for social converse.

The representation of your own prospects of advancement is not so exhilarating, as I could wish. I should rejoice to be compelled from your success to modify with due exception my misanthropic maxim, that independent

[1] See supra, p. 229.

merit will not assert its claims by its own power in these servile and mercenary times.

Though we do not interest ourselves, as some do, in the political manœuvres of the day, we must both lament the unhappy lot of the *Royal George.*[k] I unexpectedly, and without notice, read that article in the newspapers, and never felt such an oppression of sympathy, and dismay as at that moment.

The failure of the paper reminds me of the expediency of a conclusion, which, I confess, I am frequently led to prematurely, without the intervention of such an admonition.

Believe me, with the utmost sincerity,

Yours,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

[k] A ship of 100 guns sunk at Portsmouth, August 30, 1782. Admiral Kempenfelt, with several officers, 400 men and 200 women, perished in her. See N. A. Reg. iii. 58.

LETTER XL.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Oct. 20, 1782.

DEAR GREGORY,

IT pleases me much to understand, that the brethren of the type are satisfied with my conduct in this affair.[1] One should be desirous of standing fair in the eyes of all men, if it can easily be done: and who would not wish for the approbation of the promulgators of knowledge?

The sheets will be sent to ——— this week, to the amount of four hundred and fifty copies.

I have now equipped my vessel in the best manner my scale of talent would permit; and, wishing it a prosperous voyage, commit it to the ocean.

I forget whether I ever mentioned to you that I must soon evacuate my house. This

[1] The printing of his "Commentary on St. Matthew."

unlucky incident embarrasses us a good deal at this time, as there is no prospect of any decent substitute in this town: which has induced me, in co-operation with other circumstances before mentioned, to think of an entire evacuation of this place. At present, however, I see no resources; and cannot flatter myself that my present literary effort will attract so much notice as to open any method of escape.

The scarcity of such books in London, as lie out of the common track of readers, I can readily believe to equal, or exceed, that at Warrington; and do not know where it can be remedied, but in the vicinity of the universities. You will see that I pathetically touch upon this topic in my preface;[m] and give that degree of castigation to the Reviewers, which I hope you will not disapprove. I express myself in terms of moderation; be-

[m] "This performance would have been executed in a manner, much more agreeable to my wishes, had there been at hand a greater variety of books to read and consult on this occasion. How exceedingly inconvenient, and even distressing, this want is, I am enabled to feel very sensibly from my former experience: but of this they who are still resident at the *universities*, and enjoy every assistance in perfection, (*fortunati nimium, sua si bona norint!*) cannot form an adequate judgment." "Commentary," &c. Pref. p. vi.

cause I cannot expect every friend to keep pace with me in my vagaries.

I should like to see the execution of your proposed treatise: for I esteem the inequality in the provision for clergymen to be one of the crying sins of the English church. What I chiefly recollect upon this subject, respects the great subordination to the επισκοποι, which is inculcated in the epistles of Ignatius and the apostolical constitutions, and has brought those writings into discredit with the ecclesiastical republicans of modern times.

O! Jupiter—to ask me about curacies! I can answer as pertinently as the blind man did about scarlet: "It is like the sound of a trumpet."

Yours most affectionately,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER XLI.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Jan. 27, 1783.

DEAR GREGORY,

THE books so long lost,[n] that great desideratum to the world of letters! would arrive soon after you wrote last. I wish they may replenish the vacancy they have occasioned in my pocket. Eyre's bill amounts upon £130. I wish you could hint at any time to ——— that, if, in process of time, he has any money due to me, he would communicate it, that I may satisfy my printer as soon as possible.

My brother mentioned your visit at Richmond with ———, of whose parsimonious propensities he afterwards heard a most frightful account, from a clergyman, who knows him well, at Richmond. How much preferable is content with little, than affluence to a man

[n] See the preceding letter.

whose poverty is seated in his mind! And this brings me to a more full account of what I have frequently insinuated as likely to fall out. Our academy is finally dissolved by an act of the trustees a fortnight since, and the doors are to be shut at the conclusion of the sessions. By this, I, with my coadjutors, am thrown upon the wide world; "et quid agam, nescio; ità sum incertus animi." As to the taking of pupils, unless something very eligible came in one's way, I have no heart for that; and am at present resolved to fix myself in some cheap spot (about which I am making enquiries) and live upon what I have in independence: "In meipso totus teres atque rotundus." You see, like Hudibras,

> "I cheer myself with ends of verse
> And sayings of philosophers."

But, as this step would throw me entirely out of the way of polished society, and from a dearth of books, all my present acquisitions of knowledge will run waste, without any replenishment, such a state of exile would not be altogether acceptable.

I wrote on Saturday to a friend at Cambridge, to know, whether I should be likely to procure any addition to my annual stock in an honourable way, by residing there. If the

answer from that quarter should be favourable, I should not hesitate, I think, to remove thither. Such a situation would place me more amongst my old associates, and furnish a sufficiency of intellectual provender.

As to the friendship and services of the patrons of our institution, upon which you think some dependance may be placed, I have learned to rely upon no such reed; "on which if a man lean, it will either break or pierce his hand."

I rejoice at the notice you receive from people of character and abilities; and, if your prospects of ecclesiastical advancement prove unsubstantial, you will, at least, reap those improvements from the conversation of liberal and intelligent company, which you did not think Liverpool capable of furnishing.

I suppose those gentlemen, the reviewers, will, as Sterne says, "trim my jacket:" but you will judge, whether I have expressed myself unbecomingly about them, and whether any thinking creature ought to be disturbed by their censures, when they appear injudicious.

Mrs. Wakefield desires her compliments. I am not a little embarrassed at present, and therefore have but little spirit for any employment that requires thought or patience. This

must excuse the haste and irregularity of this letter. Remember me to Mr. Crafton, if you should see him.

Yours affectionately,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER XLII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Feb. 20, 1783.

DEAR GREGORY,

THE ecclesiastical incendiary* of whom you speak, would gladly make bare the secular arm for *my* extirpation, if the temper of the times corresponded with his own.

I have lately recovered my heart a little in favour of my late productions; in some degree from your intimation of the public disposition from ———'s information; but particularly from a few lines of Mr. Tyrwhitt, of our college,

* A clergyman who said that the *Commentary on St. Matthew* "ought to be burned by the common hangman."

in a letter to me. Perhaps you recollect to have heard me speak of this friend. He is the cotemporary and most intimate and esteemed acquaintance of Dr. Jebb; a man extremely well versed in every department of theological learning, and of so temperate and judicious a character, that his judgment is always the result of deliberate and impartial conviction. Believe me, the suffrage of such a person weighs more with me than a chorus of voices from ordinary critics.

"I have hardly had time," says he, "to look into your version of St. Matthew's Gospel; but I have read with pleasure your essay on Inspiration, and your Plain Account of Baptism. The three propositions in your Plain Account are very well supported; and the third, though of great consequence in itself, has, I believe, been very little, if at all, considered, since the publication of Emlyn's *Previous Question*.

I must thank you for employing your thoughts so much on my present situation. The profession of the law has often occurred to me: but besides some other weighty objections, the interval between my initiation into the study, and *pricking forth* to practice, would expose me to all those difficulties, and all that dependance, from the untowardness of my

local situation, during that period, which it has been the wish of my life thus far, and is now my chief study to avoid.

Dr. Jebb has been, I understand, much and long indisposed; this would account for his inattention to my book; or he may have got it of some other bookseller.

You seem to have conceived too horrid an idea of my scheme of retirement. I do not presume upon less society than I find here, the company of my colleagues only excepted. But, however strange and romantic it may be in reality, it will, I assure you, be adopted, unless I can station myself in some better place upon honourable terms. With pupils (except perchance at Cambridge) I will never more be plagued upon any common prospect: if some more desirable offer, than I ever expect in that way, should befall me, I would not decline it.

Much good may your American appointments do you! I think no emoluments, no post, that could be given me there, would induce me to migrate from my native spot. Depend upon it, there will be no such doings in that latitude, as there now are in Old England, for many generations. And yet you, as a single man, may reasonably find yourself disposed to encounter many hazards, which

would not be so suitable to my associated condition; and I heartily wish you were revolving in some sphere, where your powers of usefulness might be more extensively and efficaciously diffused.

I persuade myself that it will be prudent for me to examine Cambridge in person, as the readiest method of determining at once whether it will be advisable for me to remove thither. I have not communicated this resolution yet to my brother, as I expect to hear from him daily. My readiest route will be to London, and thence to Cambridge. This will of course lead me to Richmond, and perhaps both going and returning, and of course also bring my face to your face. I suppose a fortnight's absence will be sufficient: and in that intermission I can excusably indulge myself. Possibly you may intimate this to my brother: for I cannot say how long he may yet be in writing.

I am a great admirer of Dr. Johnson's Lives: but am highly indignant at his usage of Mr. Gray. It has frequently been under contemplation with me to write a minute examination of Mr. Gray's poems, and of Dr. Johnson's strictures upon him: but, as I am utterly resolved never to print another letter on an uncertainty, I start back at my own in-

tention. Do you think any bookseller would venture to treat for such a performance? It is certainly of a popular nature; and if you have any opinion of the project, I would send you or bring with me, my annotations on the first ode, completely drawn out, as an exact specimen of the conduct of my undertaking. I would choose it to pass, I think, without my name. Observe, I do not want to impose upon the forwardness of your generosity, and to make you my mediator with the *tyrants of the type*; and therefore shall expect you to take no steps in this matter without your most entire approbation. I could just now sit down to such an employment for a few weeks; and hereafter shall probably be more seriously employed.

Should I ascend to the metropolis before I hear from you again, I shall trouble you with a line to give me the meeting at the πανδοχεῖον[p] with Mr. Crafton, if you can find him. Mrs. Wakefield desires her compliments.

And believe me yours,
With all sincerity,
GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

I hope you often see the gentleman above-named. Believe me he is a most excellent person.

[p] The inn.

LETTER XLIII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, April 15, 1783.

DEAR GREGORY,

THAT derangement of ideas, which a long and hasty journey never yet failed to create in me, has prevented me from renewing our correspondence till this day.

I can acquaint you in few words with the result of my expedition. The aspect of Cambridge I found to be so much altered, in various respects, since my residence there; and the uncertainty of procuring two domestic pupils upon my own terms has been with me so constant a persuasion, that I was soon convinced of the folly and impropriety of settling in any place, where, on the most unfavourable issue of things, I could not enjoy an independance, however remote from affluence.

With this conviction, I quitted Cambridge early on Monday morning, and on the next day perambulated (as Dr. Johnson would ex-

press it) the intended town of residence, Southwell, in Nottinghamshire. The situation is such as pleases me in every respect, and I shall only wait till July to know the event of a vacancy there, previous to my removal.

I have written to one or two gentlemen, whom I think able to befriend me, to advertise them of my intention to take two pupils only, at £100 per annum each. If my applications should be unsuccessful, which I think highly probable, I shall have but little to regret. I can trust to your friendship for notifying these intentions, whenever an opportunity comes in your way.

When I called upon ————, he promised to send me an *Arabic* grammar by the next parcel to Eyres. One arrived this morning, which must have been sent some days after I called; and disappointed me extremely in not containing my wishes. Will you mention to him the disappointment; and desire him to send it by the next packet to Warrington?

Dr. Watson's friend, at Cambridge,[q] is very anxious for the republication and enlargement of my tract on Baptism: to which, at present, I can say nothing.

I have thought no more of my observations

[q] Mr. Tyrwhitt. See Letter XLII.

on Mr. Gray. If I can ever bring myself to write out my remarks on the first ode, I may possibly send it to the Gentleman's Magazine.

We have had a numerous assembly of Quakers in town; and I accidentally met with Mr. Rathbone: he enquired after you, and appeared as usual.

My translation has been very well received, I understood, at Cambridge. But I shall be better able to judge of its probable reception in general, by ———'s account, which he promised soon to send me.

Did you preach at Richmond according to agreement; and did the face of the congregation please you?

All that I wish at present is a speedy termination to our Academic business, and a happy relinquishment of this inauspicious country.

Yours affectionately,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER XLIV.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, June 24, 1783.

DEAR GREGORY,

WITH respect to the revival of our seminary, your Liverpool intelligence seems to have been well-grounded. It's fate is, I believe, irrecoverable dissolution. Our general meeting, which has always been holden on the last Thursday in this month, was postponed about three weeks since; nor is the day yet fixed. The chief matter that will then come under deliberation will be, I apprehend, the most prudent manner of disposing of the buildings and books, and of applying the money arising from the sale. There seems to be a tolerably unanimous agreement to erect some Academy, on a similar plan, more in the interior parts of the country: but the scheme is not yet matured. Nothing more remains for us, as academical tutors, than to receive

our last payment from the Academy, and to wish an everlasting tranquillity to it's manes:

——————— " animamque sepulchro
Condimus, et magnâ supremum voce ciemus."

It will give me pleasure to hear that your schemes of publication proceed better than mine are ever likely to do. Fail not to let me know the particulars of your letter, and the state in general of the controversy. I am fond of saluting the bishop's letter,[r] as a prognostic of further improvements in our ecclesiastical policy; as the streaks of the sun upon the eastern sky, betokening that the day is at hand.

——————— has never yet sent my account; though it is now three months since he promised to send it in three weeks. I presume he is not desirous of terrifying me by a roll, like that of the prophet, inscribed " within and without with lamentation, and mourning and woe." However, I shall inflexibly adhere to my resolution, and never will publish henceforth at my own hazard. And yet I have a plan in my head of a very useful work: a col-

[r] " A Letter to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury," by Dr. Watson, bishop of Landaff. 1783.

lection of all the texts in the New Testament, quoted from the Old, in the various *Oriental* versions, compared with the two originals, with notes; and an enquiry, to accompany them, how far *Jesus* and his dispensation really appear to have been foretold in the *Jewish* scriptures.

Are your Essays[s] in any forwardness? My thoughts, at present, are entirely engrossed with my future prospects, and the business of removing. I expect to hear in about three weeks about my house at Southwell; and shall then go again into Nottinghamshire to prepare for our establishment.

In the mediocrity of my circumstances, the failure of my publication is an unfortunate event; as the expence was so heavy. Mr. Owen,[t] of this town, has not been backward to commend it, though so opposite to his own system of opinions.

There is no local intelligence to communicate.

Believe me yours, very sincerely,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

Your friend Foster called upon me in passing.

[s] "Essays, historical and moral," 2d ed. 1788.

[t] See supra, p. 167.

LETTER XLV.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Aug. 6, 1783.

MY GOOD FRIEND,

UPON my return from Nottingham yesterday, I was welcomed by your two pamphlets; which I immediately read with much pleasure, and think highly of the good sense and utility of them both, but especially the first.

I have fixed upon a commodious house at Bramcote, near Nottingham, but have a prospect before me, which promises a speedy removal to Nottingham itself: and this I will disclose to you some future opportunity. As the matter is yet uncertain, I do not wish to elevate my ideas by enlarging upon the anticipation of it.

————'s account too arrived yesterday, and brought no great share of consolation with it. The sum due to me, from the whole of my productions, was £34: from which there was a

£10 deduction for expences. At present, therefore, I am £90 worse for my last.

I am glad at receiving the approbation of such men as the Bishop of Landaff. He has premises to build upon, and therefore his conclusion is of value.

Mr. Owen, who is now become very familiar with me, told me that the Bishop of Chester[u] enquired very particularly after me at his visitation in Wigan, about a month since; regretted my separation from the Church, and mentioned the pleasure he had received from reading my works.

There is a species of college instituted at Manchester upon the ruins of our academy; which I presume Dr. ————, in a letter to the bishop, had fondly likened to the universities of Scotland. It will never do.

My next plan of publication is this: the quotations from the Old Testament in the New, compared together, with their versions. The Greek and Hebrew text to be printed entire, opposite each other in columns, and only the variations of the versions with a Latin or English translation, in one vol. 8vo. of about 6s. if that be not too little: and an enquiry how far Christ and his dispensation were ac-

[u] Dr. Porteus. See supra, pp. 162 and 167.

tually foretold by the *Jewish* prophets, as a proper companion in another 8vo. volume. I wish, if an opportunity should ever offer, you would ask the bishop's[x] opinion of such a plan.

But I must trouble you to enquire whether any bookseller in London is provided with *Oriental* types, (without which I shall drop the scheme.) If so, I would publish proposals for subscription before I left this place; and send them to all my friends, and to the Bishop of Chester.

Or do you think that I had better publish an 8vo. volume of miscellaneous observations on the Old Testament, consisting of illustrations and corrections of the text? And should these be in Latin or English? Indeed, all my other observations on the New Testament, must be collected in this compendious form: for, to prosecute the plan which I have begun, would be infatuation.

Perhaps you would see the great character given of my friend Mr. Tyrwhitt in Mr. Lindsey's late work.[y] It is very just: and I pride myself in his applause, more than in that of

[x] Dr. Watson, bishop of Landaff.

[y] "An historical View of the State of the Unitarian Doctrine and Worship, from the Reformation to our own Times," &c. 8vo. 1783.

any other man whatever. He was very earnest for the republication of my "Baptism," for which I have much additional materials: *προς ταυτα δε τις ικανος.*[z]

Will you ask some of the tribe, whether the seventh volume of the London Polyglott, which Castel mentions to be preparing for the press above a century ago, was ever published? and whether the Paris Polyglott, or any other besides the London, or any *Oriental* versions of the scriptures are to be procured?

I eagerly long to be of some service in theology: but, at present, the prospect is dark and lowering; and the necessity of frugality daily increases. Did I tell you that I had a promise of two pupils from Mr. W————; and that he changed his purpose, from some misrepresentation, I suppose, of my character, from some quarter?

Have you seen Dr. Blair?[a] I predicted of him in his new walk, what I will strenuously maintain, that he would shew himself no master of the subject. It is a wretched performance to be swelled out to such an expensive

[z] 1 Cor. ii. 16. But "who is sufficient for these things."

[a] "Lectures on Rhetoric," &c. 2 vols. 4to. 1783.

size. As the Reviewers say of me, what is good is borrowed; and what is new is good for nothing.

Yours, very affectionately,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER XLVI.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Warrington, Sept. 2, 1783.

MY VERY GOOD FRIEND,

I FEEL myself more indebted than I can easily express to you and my brother, for the zeal which you shew, on every occasion, for my reputation.

The business of the Prophecies[b] will be a work of time, and I shall continue to go on gradually in that, and the Translation of the Scriptures. Certainly it would not be necessary to be so prolix in the continuance of my

[b] See the preceding letter.

plan; because there are numerous observations respecting the idiom, &c. which may be easily applied to the whole volume, and are sufficient specimens of that species of criticism.

But I cannot help thinking that a different modification of the work would be less hazardous, and more successful. Suppose the translation were published by itself in two volumes, 8vo. with the variations of the ancient versions at the bottom of the page, with very few notes at the end in vindication of a departure from the received translation. There would be prefixed a short account of the age, uses, and particular excllencies of the several *Oriental* versions. The commentary would come afterwards in volumes of the same size, as an independent work, with only additions and corrections, upon Matthew, so as not to supersede the former work. This also will require very great labour, for all the versions must be completely read through: and this I shall gradually proceed in.

What I shall relax myself with in the mean time (if I can get at Nottingham some books that I want) will be (what I have begun) an enquiry into the belief of the Christian writers of the two first centuries respecting Christ

and the Holy Spirit,[c] which is a most imperfect part, or rather no part, of Dr. Priestley's work.

That review of Madan was scandalously conducted: instead of a candid discussion, it seems a virulent invective from the beginning to the end.

I am glad that you are going to write upon the Slave-Trade;[d] as I am persuaded that we shall never prosper as a nation until that execrable traffic be abolished, which is conducted with circumstances of barbarity to be sought in vain among the records of Pagan abominations.

I have made, too, great collections for my "Baptism" improved; in the furtherance of which my excellent friend at Cambridge professes himself much interested: but I am in want of two or three books for the purpose, and, above all, of some eligible connection in the publication-way.

I expect to be going in a little more than a fortnight. When among my books, I positively will not forget your Rhetoric.

Yours, very affectionately,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

[c] See supra, p. 249.

[d] See Nos. VII and VIII of "Esssays, historical and moral."

LETTER XLVII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Bramcote, Nov. 15, 1783.

I WAS glad to understand, my good friend, that you were employed in writing out your essays; a much more profitable occupation both for yourself and others than epistolizing to me. Indeed, when we are assured of the friendship which we mutually entertain for each other, and have nothing of more moment than a reciprocation of good wishes and kind opinions to convey, we may well bear with a little irregularity in our attentions of this on nature. In thus apologizing for you, I must be understood as laying in a stock of excuses for myself, if my replies should be less speedy than heretofore. I choose to take the safer side, wishing always to do more than I profess: for I was never yet found, nor, I believe, ever shall prove a negligent correspondent.

My brother informed me of your ministerial exhibition at Richmond. I look upon him to be a very good judge of sermons and sermonisers: and I assure you that he spoke in very high terms indeed of you, both for manner and matter. This pleased me on two accounts, both as it coincided with my opinion of your talents, and was at the same time a mark of his discernment. Nor do I know any one more above the selfish passion of envy than my brother.

You see the perseverance of the Reviewers attacks upon Priestley: for want of books I cannot enter into the merits of the cause; and I think that a history of the early sects will make one part of my present performance, in which I am more sanguine, than in any thing I ever projected. It will be done in my best manner, and in that sphere in which I can exert myself with the most confidence: if this does not go down, I say with the old boxer, "Cæstus artemque repono."

I thought the conclusion of Priestley to the Reviewer incomparably satirical.*

With respect to any other application of my abilities, that is a thing to which I can

* See "Remarks on the Monthly Review of the Letters to Dr. Horsley," &c. by Dr. Priestley.

never attend. I shall be satisfied rather with amusing myself to the end, which I can very well do without attempting to instruct and reform the public.

I think of having my volume printed at Eyre's, though I tremble for the errors of the press; but I see no alternative.

"*Corpore infames*" means, beyond all doubt, those of ill-formed and mishapen bodies. I could not readily find it in my little paltry edition, without sections and without notes.

What would I give to have you here for about a week, to give me your opinion upon my papers, and to offer mine also upon yours? If such an event were practicable, I should cry out with Dido,

"Non equidem omninò *spreta* et deserta viderer."

I have taken the opportunity of just saluting you, because a neighbour is going this morning to Nottingham market, and his time of departure, which is at hand, compels me to a more hasty profession of myself to be

Your sincere friend,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER XLVIII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Bramcote, Feb. 17, 1784.

DEAR GREGORY,

THOUGH much formality and our attachment would be but ill connected, I beg leave to observe, that I was not the debtor in our correspondence before the arrival of your last letter.

The natural fondness which authors feel for their own productions, will give you some concern at the procrastination of your Essays: and I wish that you could have made some eligible agreement with your bookseller. I admire, however, your steadiness, which is able, in such critical cases, to overbalance your parental partialities. If every one were endued with the same proportion of sober resolution, we should have less disappointment in the world, and fewer perishable publications.

Your Essays contain certainly many solid

remarks and useful facts, of still more importance than any theories, in developing the nature of the human mind: but I as certainly think that they are not sufficiently entertaining, and let me add futile, to command a very general attention from this unlearned and superficial generation. We are told a great deal about the great diffusion of knowledge, and the literary cast of modern times: but I am persuaded that the sum total of knowledge is less now than it has been for two centuries. The rays are scattered over a more extensive surface; but are less luminous in proportion to their dispersion. Experimental philosophy, history, &c. and all those subjects which are easy of acquisition, are more cultivated and more generally known: they suit the levity and indolence of the age. But mathematical philosophy, and that species of learning, which is conversant with ancient authors and ancient times, is at a very low ebb, and seems still subsiding.

As Mr. Pitt has risen in your opinion, he has proportionably sunk in mine. I pronounced, from his first speeches I ever saw, that he would never be a great man. They exhibited the caution, the precision, the coldness of a gray-haired orator: unattended by the bold luxuriances, the bright-eyed fancy,

the general characteristics of youthful genius. Besides, that absurd stateliness of manners, which will command respect, but never gain love; those symptoms of an immoderate self-opinion, visible in his exterior ever since I knew him; his fondness for courtly honours, are properties incompatible with a truly great and amiable mind. For my part, it seems to me highly disgraceful that so young and inexperienced a man should direct a nation, and monopolise its first offices, to the exclusion of more venerable and able characters. His integrity is, I dare say, unimpeachable.

I easily picture to myself the complacency, the satisfaction, the triumph of our friend F. going about doing good among the poor brethren.

I congratulate you on your preferments. which I hope are only the first fruits of a plenteous harvest.

If you sometimes want my advice, I very often want such as you could give me; but these advantages, alas! must be foregone.

Yours sincerely,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER XLIX.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Bramcote, June 6, 1784.

DEAR GREGORY,

I AM going tomorrow with my pupil to Cambridge; and as I thought I could put the letter in the office commodiously on the road, I gladly took advantage of the opportunity of writing a line to you. I shall be from home about five days; and after my return, intend, God willing, to prepare for my departure to Richmond,[f] where I hope to be in about a fortnight.

Though it is the general opinion that my present scheme can hardly fail of success, I do not feel myself, I confess, remarkably sanguine on the occasion. Not a single pupil have I yet heard of: but perhaps it were unreasonable to expect any applications before I am fixed on the scene of action. As soon as I am

[f] See supra, p. 254.

there, I will call upon some friends in London, who may possibly be of some service. Indeed I will remit no endeavours, as I find myself exceedingly desirous not to begin the plan without some provision, some first-fruits of an approaching harvest.

Mr. Evanson, of Mitcham, as my brother informs me, overflows in such a manner, as compels him to limit his number to ten, and to raise his terms to £60. You, no doubt, have heard of him; he is a notorious and confirmed heretic. He wrote some years ago a letter to Hurd, then bishop of Litchfield, upon the subject of the Prophecies and Antichrist. He is an ingenious and well-informed man.

There are some individuals at Richmond as earnest about my success as myself; but with different dispositions.

My prosperity in this way will chagrin them as much as it will give you and me pleasure. It is an unmanly feeling, I allow; but who loves to see "the uncircumcised triumph?"

When I am settled, I shall hope for the pleasure of your company: though if I may form an argument of induction from your former conduct, I must not expect it above once a year. Fie upon you! to have lived so long within eighteen miles, and very frequently without one reasonable impediment, and never

to have come but once, on set purpose, to Warrington! suffer me to preach to you repentance and reformation.

Mrs. W. desires her respects.

Believe me, with the utmost sincerity,

Yours, affectionately,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER L.

The Bishop of LANDAFF *to Mr.* WAKEFIELD.

Cambridge, July 26, 1784.

REV. SIR,

A VARIETY of business prevented me for some time from reading your book,[z] or I would sooner have thanked you for the honour you have done me by inscribing it to me. I admire and approve the spirit and erudition with which it is written; and though I think the pre-existence of Jesus to be the

z "Enquiry, &c. concerning the Person of Christ." See supra, p. 149.

doctrine of the New Testament, yet I am far from wishing the contrary opinion to be stifled, or the supporters of it to be branded as enemies to the Christian system.

Whoever is afraid of submitting any question, civil or religious, to the test of free discussion, seems to me to be more in love with his own opinion than with truth.

I shall be glad to see you either in Cambridge or in London, that I may become personally known to you. That the spirit of God may guide you in all your researches, is the sincere prayer of

Your much obliged servant,

R. LANDAFF.

LETTER LI.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Richmond, Aug. 3, 1784.

DEAR GREGORY,

WHEN I survey one sheet, or sixteen pages, in a Review, I am appalled at the contemplation. Thrice do I lift up the volume,

and thrice it tumbles from my hand! However, I shall be obliged to you for speaking to the conductor, but will rather wish you not to ratify till I see you. I am very sensible of the trouble, which I impose upon you.

I wish most earnestly for an association with two or three others of different pursuits and talents, for the different provinces in a new Review, upon a perfectly liberal and free plan, with real names prefixed to each paper. I think it should be called a literary Review, and only concern itself with the capital publications in each branch of knowledge. But this is a mere Utopian project that has occurred during my frequent meditations upon some expedient to employ my time with advantage to others and to myself.

The Philosophical Society at Manchester are going to publish a volume, in which an attempt of mine on Alphabetical Characters is to make its appearance.[h] I know it goes in opposition to your opinion.

You will remember ten o'clock next Saturday.

Yours sincerely,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

[h] See supra, p. 269.

LETTER LII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Richmond, Sept. 10, 1784.

DEAR GREGORY,

WHEN you talk, and others talk, of the *fitness* of things, what is meant? Fitness, to what? It occurs several times in your essays.

You mistate my favourite study; which is not polemical divinity but divinity itself; which is quite another thing: C'est toute autre chose, as Mr. Maty says. And the reason why I never took any pleasure in *moral ethics*, —— he calls them, and would not give one penny for all the morality in the world, is, because there is no foundation for virtue and immortality but in Revelation: and therefore I could never see any advantage from moral writings, though you point out so many. Give me that edification and those hopes which I find in the scriptures, and let others find theirs where they can.

I am glad you like the Sermon;[1] but as to sending it to Dr. Pretyman, that would not do; that were to say, Is not my sermon, Pretyman, better than yours?

I do not know when I shall leave Richmond, but I believe in about three weeks. At present I intend to see London once more.

Yours, most sincerely,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER LIII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Richmond, Sept. 22, 1784.

DEAR GREGORY,

I HAVE got two, if not three, pupils to begin with, at Nottingham.

It would have given me pleasure to have

[1] Preached at Richmond, upon the general Peace. See supra, p. 277.

seen you before I went; and I would have gratified myself in this had it been practicable, or had my mind been sufficiently at ease to have enjoyed properly the interview.

I believe that many moralists would explain *the fitness of things* in a different manner: in any case your explanation supposes *a wise superintending Providence.*

We differ in this, that you think the *Scriptures* offer much better grounds of virtue, than any system that ever appeared, whereas, I think, they furnish the *only* grounds, and other systems none at all. For this reason, the man who contributes in the least degree to confirm or illustrate the *Scriptures*, whether he be Thomas Aquinas or Lindsey, deserves better of mankind than all the moralists of reason in the world.

We leave this place early on Friday morning, and hope to reach Nottingham on Saturday night.

I never had but one copy of my σχεδίασμα on Alphabetic Writing, which is at Manchester for publication in their Miscellany. It is a very rude performance, executed in a popular manner, without authorities, which I had not time or inclination to insert. I expect the book will soon appear to delight and

instruct mankind, and the metropolis in particular, where you will no doubt hasten to inspect it for your own benefit.

Believe me

Your very affectionate friend,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER LIV.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Nottingham, Nov. 8, 1784.

DEAR FRIEND,

You are too liberal by far in your concessions, when you suppose yourself to benefit by my letters, so as to leave me a loser by these communications; but I attribute your mistake to that benevolence of disposition which leads you to conform, more than any man of worth I ever knew, to the Apostle's exhortation, "in honour preferring one another." It is a laudable deception.

Vellem in amicitiâ sic erraremus, et isti
Errori nomen virtus possuisset honestum." [k]

I had heard before of the business in agitation at Warrington, and I since learn that no scheme is as yet adopted.

As to my success at Nottingham, or in any other place, that is a problem, rather than an axiom. I have two gentlemen with me from Exeter, of whose coming I knew before I left Richmond, and with them I shall stop, as far as circumstances allow me to prejudge.

I almost wonder that you should not have accepted the offer from Liverpool: but you are the best judge of your own prospects and feelings. You have my best thanks for your offer of assistance, but my staff is put up. Could I get admission to such a place with leave to use the Church of England Liturgy *reformed*, I should eagerly come forwards, and be happy to employ myself in a manner, which I always thought would constitute the first happiness of my life. That mode of public instruction and exhortation would be the most pleasing exercise of my abilities and time: but in this case, even hope is vain.

I rejoice with you in disposing of your

[k] Hor. Sat. 1. 3. 41.

"Mammon of Unrighteousness" so well to the *Turtleophagi* of Liverpool. Mrs. W. is a great deal better, and sends her kindest remembrance.

There is a second number of Commentaries and Essays, &c.[1] by Johnson. Will you just peep in it some day, and see if you can spy any thing of mine? I sent them a σχεδίασμα. I have ordered a copy, but I may not receive it of some time.

Believe me,
With an unalterable attachment,
Your very affectionate friend,
GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

1 "Published by the Society for promoting the Knowledge of the Scriptures," instituted 1783, whose papers now make 2 vols. 8vo. The "Sketch of the Plan" prefixed to their first volume "was chiefly written by Dr. Jebb." See Disney's Jebb, i. 190.

LETTER LV.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Nottingham, March 11, 1785.

DEAR GREGORY,

MY opinion of your sincerity is too firmly and too justly established to doubt of the reality of those apprehensions concerning me, conveyed in your letter; and my consciousness of my own weaknesses too great to dispute their justice, though I may not be immediately sensible of them myself.

You cannot gratify me more, than by an early account of your recovery from your disorder; which I sincerely hope is nothing of a confirmed nature. Do not confine yourself too closely in your contracted apartment; and never neglect a suitable proportion of exercise abroad.

What you mean by the pamphlet of the Theological Society I hardly know. I have got two numbers, of those published for John-

son, for promoting the knowledge of the scriptures, but have not seen a third announced yet. I have sent a paper or two to the Theological Repository,[m] and had one inserted in the last number, which you would readily discover by the manner of it, I dare say.

I expect to go with my two pupils to Cambridge in the spring; and hope my brother will meet me there, to see the university. How it would add to my gratification, would you accompany him. The distance is absolutely nothing; the vehicles commodious and expeditious; and such an excursion highly seasonable and salutary for you at this time. Do think about it.

I thank you much for your recommendations. Some gentlemen of this town have importuned me to take day-boys, which my friends here think will be very likely to answer better. I have only two boarders with me, who go to reside at Cambridge in October; and really the good opinion, which some of my friends entertain of me, has been no little inconvenience in procuring me such pupils, as other masters had practised their *ulti-*

[m] To that work Mr. Wakefield contributed six articles, with the signature of NEPIODIDASCALOS. See Vols. IV, V, VI.

matum upon, and sent to be finished with me; which is exceedingly troublesome. This has inclined me to admit none beyond fourteen years, in future, upon the same terms with others. This plan of day-boys I shall try fairly, in conjunction, with the other, for some time: and if it does not answer tolerably, give both up finally and contentedly.

I have lately turned myself very closely to my old classical pursuits, and meditate some criticisms in that way. My best wishes attend your essays.

I conclude myself, with Mrs. Wakefield's best respects,

Yours, most sincerely,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER LVI.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Nottingham, May 14, 1785.

DEAR GREGORY,

I HAD written to you about a fortnight since, and before the epistle could be dispatched by the parcel, it was suppressed by the determination of our expedition to Cambridge: from which I hoped to have received more pleasing fruits by your presence, and that of my brother. The notice, it seems, as I supposed, was too short: but I was not my own master in the business, or you should have had more time for preparation. My engagements with my pupils' friends in London, were so ordered, as to make it impossible for me to see you again. I staid in Richmond till Sunday, which proved a horrible and stormy day; and the *Sabbath* of public conveyances exposed me to the pelting of the weather for about four miles. Besides, what churchman does not know the bustle of an Easter-Sunday, with

that part of the profession which Dr. Horsley says are so equal to the drudgeries of the business, and look forwards to a rest from their labours with hopes full of episopacy or immortality?

I am now employing myself in writing a book of criticisms, in Latin, illustrative of the *Scriptures,* by the means of ancient authors;[a] of which the university will undertake the printing at her own cost. But this summer weather produces in me, as ever, a most perfect listlessness; and disables me from every thing but the enjoyment of society, which is as scarce with me as with any man: such, I mean, as would be perfectly palatable to my disposition.

Have you seen the Bishop of Landaff's publication; and what do the reverend brethren think of it? What is the news of the literary world, which is not apt to reach my ears?

Ipse quid audes? Quæ circumvolitas agilis thyma?

I have begun, what I have long meditated, to read the Revelations.

Yours most affectionately,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

[a] The first part of this work was published in 1789 under the title of "Silva Critica." See supra, p. 292.

LETTER LVII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Nottingham, Aug. 27, 1785.

DEAR GREGORY,

I AM glad to observe so much attention and propriety in the two bishops. Mere passive applause has been the only meed that experience has taught me to expect from such elevated characters: but the liberality of the times is in no respect more conspicuous than in its influence upon that order. It will give me new pleasure, and in a greater degree, to understand from you, that the Bishop of C——— has exerted himself successfully in your behalf. One is rejoiced to see mankind redeemed from the general imputation of degeneracy and selfishness by such instances of disinterested kindness.

To your question. We need go no further than the Acts of the Apostles for a proof of the steadfastness of the primitive Christians even unto death. We find the apostles there

declaring in the face of the Jewish council, that they should obey God, and not man. In consequence of this adherence to the facts of the Gospel—the life, crucifixion, and resurrection of Jesus—and an open and undaunted confession of them, Stephen brought destruction on himself. The same faith which was so odious to the Jews, who expected a different Messiah, occasioned the martyrdom of some other Christians, and amongst the rest of James the brother of John: Acts xii. 1. 2. To proceed no further there, *Paul* was in hourly expectation of a violent death for perseverance in the same cause. 2 Tim. iv. 6. And what makes the characteristic distinction between these sufferers, and those of after times, some of whom have died in attestation of opposite creeds, and therefore of falsehood, is—that the primitive Christians depended upon *facts*—what they had seen with their eyes and heard with their ears, and could not be deceived; but others have died for *opinions*, what they only *supposed* to be true. It is inconceivable that they should have persisted in maintaining *Christ* to be risen, whom they knew before his death, and handled afterwards, but on a supposition of the truth of this proposition. Other arguments might be alledged; but this is sufficient, till the histori-

cal credibility of the New Testament is disproved, or till the annals of mankind furnish some instances of men's suffering death in such circumstances.

I have no doubt but some accounts of things of this nature are as well attested in *subsequent* histories, as other facts of a different nature in *profane* annals, which no man thinks himself at liberty to disbelieve. But posterior evidence is precluded in this case; because those of that generation, which was cotemporary with *Christ*, and can only come under this description of *sensible* witnesses, must have been soon extinct.

Conversation upon these topics is what I most ardently desire; for I read nothing, and am in some danger of giving up study altogether, seeing no end but my own gratification, and that is selfishness; which be ever far from me! Indeed, one half of the year, the summer, which brings with it an invincible propensity to ramble abroad, was always idle with me.

I shall go to Cambridge, if alive and well, at the latter end of October, to carry for printing, at the university press and expence, in Latin, an illustration of various passages of the scriptures from profane authors.

I expect Dr. Clayton to come to reside

here immediately; perhaps he is already come. Mrs. Wakefield is gone for a month to Scarborough. If you have been to Richmond, you would find my brother in his wonted good spirits. You know that Dr. Enfield is gone to Norwich. Dr. B———— is in Nottingham, and holds forth twice on Sunday next: as he is an acquaintance of mine, and so celebrated a preacher, I shall by all means *not* go to hear him.

Yours, most affectionately,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

Did you ever read a small collection of Tracts by the ever-memorable John Hales, of Eton college; one of the greatest men of that age, which produced many great characters, and was the æra of English virtue and magnanimity?

LETTER LVIII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Nottingham, Oct. 26, 1785.

DEAR GREGORY,

THE inactivity of winter has put a temporary stop to the parcel, by which my letters were conveyed to London, and forces me to write by the post.

I go to Cambridge on Sunday, but cannot possibly protract my stay there beyond two days; and the weather has put on a very frowning aspect. A little idleness will be very likely to do you good. After breathing so long the fresh western gales from the Irish sea, I am not at all surprised to hear of your complaints, which have their origin, I dare say, in your sedentary mode of life, and the adulterated atmosphere of the city. Besides, your conduct of your leisure, and your studies is exceedingly injudicious. Late reading and late rising are universally thought to be prejudi-

cial to the health; and seems to me an incontrovertible persuasion.

I carry with me my work for the University press; and if I shall find myself likely to procure the same privilege in future, I shall not want employment.

I want to know very much, whether Mason's right in Gray's poems is expired; for I should like to occupy myself this winter in such an edition of them, as would suit the classical nature of the originals; and, as they are a *certain* commodity for the booksellers, some of the profession might, perhaps, have no objection to take an edition upon them. I shall endeavour to get an application made to Cadell upon this subject, who is, I believe, one of the most respectable of the fraternity.

I shall be glad to hear of the favourable sale of your essays. All the service that I have been able to render them, is the introduction of them into two Book-Societies at Nottingham.

I tell you, that if you look to a *Jew* for *Hebrew*, you will never know any thing of the matter: get *Masclef*'s Grammar, *Buxtorf*'s Lexicon, and a Hebrew Bible; and if you do not compass it in a trice, why then let me bear the blame for ever.° The two gentlemen that

° See supra, p. 100.

I am carrying to Cambridge are proficients, after paying a very small attention to it, for eight or nine months; for their principal employment has been in another way.

It grieves me to tell you that I am not able to benefit Miss Williams beyond my own subscription. No man has less influence and power in these respects than myself. Otherwise, who would be so forward to encourage female merit, as one who has always been an idolater of the sex? Nor can this justly bring upon me the imputation of sin; as a woman is "no graven image, nor the likeness of any thing in Heaven above," &c.

My poetical taste is among the most fastidious. Anything short of excellence will not go down with me.

Si paulum a summo decessit, vergit ad imum.

Mrs. Wakefield desires her respects.

Yours ever,
Most sincerely and affectionately,
GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

Dr. Clayton desires me to tell you how glad his brother would be to see you at any time.

LETTER LIX.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY

Nottingham, Dec. 12, 1785.

DEAR GREGORY,

You have made a most equitable, and indeed advantageous agreement for me with K, and I shall be glad to shew my sense of the obligation in any way you choose.

You speak of a speedy appearance of the book, which, to be sure, is a principal consideration. I can get it forward speedily, because my thoughts have been often employed upon Mr. Gray;

> ..... juvat usque morari,
> Et conferre gradum:

and I shall endeavour to answer the favourable impressions, which, I well know, the partiality of your friendship would leave upon K.'s mind.

My young gentlemen are coming to town this week, tomorrow or Wednesday; and I

will endeavour to convey the first notes by them.

Any errors, or improprieties, that you may discover, I will gladly thank you to correct. I rather wish them to be considered as notes of *taste*, than formal criticism. The typographical artifices the bookseller must manage. The notes will be better in a body at the end, than under the text, except, perhaps, Mr. Gray's own illustrations. And I think the poems may as well be printed in the order of my remarks. The edition should be neat, and I should think a thin quarto would be the handsomer form: but this I submit to you and him.

You will see I have occasionally translated some of the classical quotations, and I hope in such a manner as will give the English reader some insight into the originals.

Can you tell me, whether the variations Mr. Mason has put into the notes ever appeared before, so as to be common right?

The more speedily it is set about the better, and, if it be necessary, I will devote (as I have done since your letter) my whole time to the business. A neat print is a principal matter: and you must tell me what you think of the specimen I send, whether it be sufficiently entertaining; for dry criticism will not do. I

do not apprehend that the odes in general will have such copious animadversions as the ode on Spring. Well, I have done, and you must excuse so much selfishness.

The work you speak of, I shall be glad to see; and to suggest whatever lies within my power. I once published an anonymous sixpenny pamphlet, by Law, upon the Study of Divinity, in which you would see some remarks upon learning *Hebrew*. I have no copy, or would have sent one.[p]

I was sorry that you should have declined the proposal of Lord Camelford, if the terms were liberal. You would have been led into a more healthy situation, and might have procured, after a short servitude, some comfortable preferment.

The text, I think, should be from Mason; and the stanzas arranged according to the specimen in the notes.

Company has interrupted me: so I conclude myself

Yours, most truly,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

[p] See supra, p. 101.

LETTER LX.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Nottingham, Dec. 17, 1785.

MY GOOD FRIEND,

You have set me at ease, and you have *not* set me at ease; for you should have received *two* parcels, reaching to the twentieth page inclusive. You will relieve my parental anxiety by informing me of their safe arrival.

All the quotations, which are at all important, are translated, but by myself; for I have no translations, scarcely, at hand; and if I had, they are not found to give a complete idea when one comes to particulars. As for the size of the book, the notes, I think, will be sufficiently copious without any laborious efforts to extend them.

I shall write a small preface, and have got a good motto for the title-page.

Yours, in haste, most truly,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER LXI.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Nottingham, Dec. 24, 1785.

DEAR GREGORY,

I LIKE your plan of disposing of the observations very well; and therefore, if it please K, let it be adopted. Except his typographical taste be elegant, as I am a little fastidious in this respect, I should like to see the conduct of the *first* sheet: but I am not solicitous about it, if his professional accuracy be approved. They will take care to copy such of Gray's notes, as I may happen to have omitted; which will easily be done with the book before them, as they are put under the text in all other editions, and mostly so in Mason's.

After all, as the observations are solely of the simple and entertaining kind, without the remotest pretence whatever to depth of criticism, I almost doubt whether it were advisable to prefix one's name; but I shall not object, if

you think it may be done without *infamy*; for credit I want not from such operations; except the credit of reading poetry with some share of *taste*, and writing, perhaps, such remarks as may improve that faculty in others.

I shall write a short advertisement, of a few lines, by way of preface, declaratory of the scope of the observations. K. will take care to insert nothing *legally* offensive.[q] By the by, Mason's property hinders one from doing the business as completely as one could wish.

I think the *Elegy* will look better in disjointed stanzas, than the wearisome form in which Mason has disposed it. It should be last in order.

Yours, most affectionately,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

[q] The inattention of the publisher to this direction occasioned some inconvenience to Mr. Wakefield. See supra, p. 278.

LETTER LXII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Nottingham, Dec. 31, 1785.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WHILST I think of it, I must tell you that my brother Thomas chides me for not accepting K.'s other proposal of a certain sum. Now I thought that this might *possibly* be imprudent with respect to myself, and *probably* injurious to him; and, therefore, I had given it up. If *you* thought it most advisable, I should prefer it: but it looks mercenary. One thing, however, I must secure myself from; and that is the very possibility of any concern in a law-suit.

I am very sensible that your conversation would have contributed very much to the improvement of the notes. But the truth is, I am most impatient, and cannot dwell long upon a subject. Supposing that a second edition should ever be wanted, I could do a good

deal more and better by having an interleaved copy, and looking into it occasionally at my leisure.

The order of Shakspeare's verse, I believe, is properly given: but what idea can be drawn from a *scholar's eye* is beyond my comprehension: a *poet's* eye were another thing; but *imagination* and *scholarship* were never yet essential companions.

When I proposed my explanation of the passage in *As You Like It* to our gentlemen at Warrington, some approved highly, and some hesitated, but could not object. I have no doubt but it will be generally approved, as it has been by those to whom I have proposed it. It is one of those hits, in which I would stand single against all mankind; yea, as Bentley used to say of Horace, if Shakspeare were alive, and swore he did not mean that sense, I would not believe him.[r]

[r] A quotation from Mr. Wakefield's note, referred to in this place, may be amusing to those not possessed of his edition of Gray. It occurs on the seventh and eighth line of the ode on Eton College:

> " And ye, that from the stately brow
> Of Windsor's heights th' expanse below
> *Of grove, of lawn, of mead survey,*
> *Whose turf, whose shade, whose flowers among,*" &c.

I think your sonnet extremely pretty, though perhaps I could mend it a little: but

" That is," says Mr. Wakefield, " the *turf* of whose *lawn*, the *shade* of whose *grove*, the *flowers* of whose *mead*. This is a peculiar artifice of composition, which, in the hands of a skilful poet, is neither inelegant nor useless, as it frequently prevents a superfluity of expression. *Hebrew* poetry abounds with examples of this mode of writing. The reader may find various specimens exhibited by *Bishop Lowth*, in the *Preliminary Dissertation* to his *Isaiah*."

Mr. Wakefield is then led to explain the following passage from Shakspeare's Hamlet (Act iii. sc. i.):

The courtier's, soldier's, scholar's, eye, tongue, sword.

" That is—The courtier's eye, the soldier's sword, the scholar's tongue.

" This singularity often occurs in Mr. *Pope*:"

[*e. g.* " Annual for me, the grape, the rose renew,
The juice nectareous, and the balmy dew.

ESSAY ON MAN, I. 135.

" When earthquakes swallow, or when tempests sweep
Towns to one grave, whole nations to the deep."

Ibid. v. 143.]

" But *the courtier's eye*, in the line just quoted, ever observant of the motions and will of his sovereign, gives me an opportunity of explaining a passage in *Shakspeare*, which is most grievously perverted and misunderstood.

observe, this is not saying much; for Mr. Gray's opinion is almost mine, that the very worst verse is preferable to the very best criticism that ever was made upon it.

The whole of the notes has been ready this week, and I will send them by the first opportunity.

The reason of my neglecting to observe Gray's imitation of Horace's "O Diva, gratum quæ regis Antium" was, Johnson had

> "And then the lover,
> Sighing like furnace, with a woful ballad
> Made to his mistress' eye-brow."
>
> As You Like It, Act ii. sc. 7.

So the passage is pointed in all the editions and quotations that I ever saw: but surely nothing can be more erroneous. For who ever heard of a *ballad made* to another? It is nonsensical and absolutely indefensible. A comma should be put at *ballad,* in order to connect *made to his mistress' eye-brow* with *the lover,* who is the proper subject of the passage. *The lover, made to his mistress' eye-brow*—obedient to her *nod*—subservient to her *wink*—depending upon her *eye:* as submissive as even the world itself was to the *widow:*

> 'The world depend upon your *eye,*
> And when you frown upon it, die.'

This species of *homage,* and *servile attention,* is expressed in the *New Testament* by οφθαλμοδουλεια—eye-service."

Wakefield's Gray, pp. 38, 9.

anticipated the remark, and the resemblance is but general and not striking. Your imitation of it, I am sure, would appear with advantage in the notes: but why should we exhaust ourselves at the first onset? And why will not you make a point of communicating some further remarks upon the poems, that I may gratify myself by speaking of you to the public in terms suited to your merit, and my affection?

Do not urge K. to print too many at first. Excuse brevity; for I am wonderfully busy.

Yours, ever most truly,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER LXIII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Nottingham, Jan. 8, 1786.

DEAR GREGORY,

INCORRECTNESS in these poems would, I think, be a great disgrace; and therefore, if the first sheet be not past recovery, I shall put down some more corrections. I should think it were an easy matter for two or three sheets to stand set before the printing off, by which means I could have as many proofs sent me by the week.

Your remarks on the *Elegy* I like very much. Johnson's Life of Savage, from which you quote, in illustration of a particular passage, I always regarded as a weak and injudicious attempt to draw an ignoble character into reputation; and I was particularly grieved that so long a life of so unimportant a subject should be suffered to intrude itself into such an undue portion of room in the Biographical Lives.

Your remark upon the aukwardness of the poet's address to himself—

> For thee, who, mindful of th' unhonour'd dead,
> Dost in these lines their artless tale relate—

is very just, and had quite escaped me.

I was glad to see you concur with me in admiration of that fine line,

> Struck the deep sorrows of his lyre.

If Lord Camelford's son was to have had the benefit of your superintendence at college I doubly regret your refusal. Had you gone to Cambridge, I could have introduced you to some acquaintance, which would have made your sojourn there highly agreeable.

Gray's notes are best with the text.

Yours, ever most affectionately,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

Bless me! I see that p. 6, l. 1, the printers have got Diogenes, the *tub-man*, instead of Dionysius. Horrid! abominable! it almost gives me a palsy.

LETTER LXIV.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Nottingham, March 6, 1786.

DEAR GREGORY,

I THANK you for the Dictionary, which I shall keep, and commission, ere long, my brother to pay you for it. The other I shall keep only to a favourable opportunity of returning it; as, with your leave, it does not appear to me calculated by any means for a beginner.

The English Review, I see, treat very handsomely my paper in the Manchester Society's volume. I rather wonder that you have never transmitted any essay to the society, through the hands of some of your friends. They want an occasional supply to compensate the inattention of their unworthy members, of whom I acknowledge myself one, not easy to stimulate into action, except under the impulse of my own propensities.

I supposed that Dr. Aikin would at last

transplant himself to London; and shall be glad to hear that the soil has virtue enough to give proper nourishment to so vigorous a plant. You will be happy, I am sure, in his conversation; and I rejoice at the prospect of seeing him occasionally, whilst we continue to enjoy "the sun and summer-gale." Give my most cordial remembrance to him. In haste,

Yours ever, most truly,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER LXV.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Nottingham, March 25, 1786.

DEAR GREGORY,

WHEN I set about the Italian in earnest, I shall again pay my respects to Boccacio, and endeavour to justify the opinion of your fair acquaintance by finding him a proper introduction to such advanced students as she describes. Certainly the very first sentence is of a length, which you would in vain attempt

to parallel after an hour's investigation in any modern author.

Dr. Aikin's situation and prospects will, of course, engross his time; and it is a vain hope to look for social comfort amongst the disciples of Hippocrates. I found this completely verified in the instance of my late friend Dr. Jebb.

I rejoice in learning your engagement in a work,* which you speak of with so much appearance of satisfaction. As I profess myself under obligation to give you every assistance in my power, and would avoid every appearance of indifference and ingratitude, at any hazard, I will tell you the truth with all freedom and simplicity.

I never did read *ecclesiastical* history in my life, except ten years ago at college, when I read Mosheim and Jortin; and was so thoroughly disgusted with the former, as to resolve never to look at him again. Such minute details of the frivolous reveries of ideots and knaves—such accounts of sects, which ought to have no existence but in a name—made me set down this branch of study (except as far as it

* "History of the Christian Church." A new and enlarged edition was published in 1795, in 2 vols. 8vo.

was respectably treated by Eusebius, Sozomen, and Socrates, for the three first centuries, and by others for the three last,) as unworthy the attention of every man, who made pleasure or profit the object of his enquiries.

I have not, to my knowledge, in all my papers, a single remark of any kind to this purpose. Had I been, however, in possession of Mosheim, or known where to procure him, I would have given him an inspection, to try, whether I could do you any service.

Of late my attention has been engrossed by the classics, and is likely to be much so in future. And then you seem to have advanced so far in the business, as to admit no delay; nor do I know whether your performance is to be an abridgment, or principally a new work. If you can, however, prescribe any method for me to proceed in, whether by reading Mosheim, and noting errors, &c. inform me, and I will endeavour to borrow the book in town, and peruse it.

Scruple not to write instantly by the post.

Yours, most faithfully,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER LXVI.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Nottingham, May 7, 1786.

DEAR GREGORY,

I SHALL be very glad to assist your operations in the version of *Lowth*,[t] which is much more after my taste than the former work, in which you have engaged.

The "Prælectiones" is a very pleasing and elegant work, and I suppose the best specimen in the world of the fertile improvement of a subject: for never before was such a superstructure of elegance raised from so slender a foundation.

Whatever is in my power, I shall rejoice to do; for though I am, and always was, at this time of the year irresistibly led away by idleness, yet I shall willingly exert myself at all

[t] "Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews, translated from the Latin," &c. 2 vols. 8vo. 1787.

times with a prospect of real service. In the case of Mosheim, I foresaw a good deal of unpleasant reading, without any consciousness of utility to your design.

Should any critical remarks, of whatever kind, arise, except what are not abstruse, would they be acceptable? This is only supposition: for as it is some time since I read Lowth, I cannot pronounce about its aptitude to produce remarks in me.

The Dictionary does extremely well: I found out the misplaced leaves. When do you think of visiting Liverpool and taking Nottingham in your way?

Yours, ever most truly,

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

LETTER LXVII.

Mr. WAKEFIELD *to the Rev. Mr.* GREGORY.

Nottingham, July 22, 1786.

DEAR GREGORY,

I WAS extremely sorry to find by your letter, which I yesterday received, that you are impatient for your papers. My brother cannot have given you a right idea of my situation at this time.

I had desired him to tell you that it was impossible for me, at present, to exert my mind in the contemplation of a single idea of any kind. An absence from my bed of five weeks (three nights only excepted, when I undressed myself, and slept part of the night by means of opium) added to an unceasing pain, has reduced me to this imbecility of intellect.[u]

A friend of mine at Cambridge had easily

[u] See supra, p. 277.

engaged me to write some notes on *Statius*, whom he is publishing; but I have let him know, that it is as impossible for me to read a line of his author with attention, as to blow out the sun.

Your paper I began resolutely to read the first opportunity after it reached me; when I soon came to two long sentences, which required particular examination. They lie now in my study with *Lowth* open at the place, to be considered, as soon as ever I find myself capable; but I daily grow rather worse, and mean within a week, if no alteration take place, to come to town for the best advice that can be had, as existence is neither tolerable nor probable, for any length of time, under my present circumstances. I wish you would inform me, by the return of the post, what you wish me to do with your papers.

I am obliged to you for your recommendation of me to the lady; but experience convinces me that no enquiry is ever made into the terms but by those who think £100 per annum much too exorbitant for education. Besides, unless my condition of bodily health amends, instead of seeking for new pupils, I must, and soon too, ease myself of those already with me, and study to make my life as

comfortable as I can in somnolence and domestic tranquillity.

Believe me yours, ever most truly,

G. WAKEFIELD.

LETTER LXVIII.

The Rev. Dr. ENFIELD *to Mr.* WAKEFIELD.

Norwich, Jan. 24, 1790.

THE particulars, my dear Sir, which you communicated to me in your last give me much concern. Things are surely not quite as they should be in this world, when some of the best men in it, and they too the best qualified to serve mankind, are neither rewarded for their merit, nor even suffered to reap the fruits of their industry. It cannot surely be long before you will find yourself in a situation in which your learning and talents will yield you a more substantial return than mere applause.

How far your *Oxford* scheme is likely to be successful, I cannot judge; but that you

might do something there, in the capacity of an editor, which would turn to account, I have little doubt. I have had some conversation with our bishop upon the subject. He tells me that the *Oxford* press is open to all men of letters, who come properly introduced to the board which superintends that business; and particularly that a *Cambridge* man would find no difficulty in obtaining the patronage of the university of Oxford in publishing any work of real learning. The proper method of proceeding, he says, is, by a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, stating *accurately* and *particularly* the plan which the author or editor means to execute; and that it should also be accompanied with recommendatory letters from *Cambridge*. As to any probability of being employed as superintendent of publications at the *Clarendon* press, I can obtain no information.

When I first mentioned your name to the bishop, he recollected that you had censured him in one of your publications; and turned to the "Essay on Inspiration," in which you call his reply to *Dr. Bell* an appeal *ad verecundiam:* he seemed most hurt by the *Erratum Bigot* for *Bagot*; but passed over the matter with much good humour; said he owed you no grudge, and that he should be glad to see

a man of your learning encouraged as he deserves. I presented him with a copy of your *Silva*. The bishop appears before the public chiefly in the light of an orthodox zealot; but, if you were personally acquainted with him, I think you would see much reason to respect him for honesty and integrity, for a benevolent heart, and for as much liberality as his narrow principles will allow him to exercise. I believe if your name were brought forward before the Board at *Oxford*, you would find him inclined to favour your application.

What you tell me concerning ———'s silence does not much surprize me: it cannot be justified; but you will perhaps admit it as some apology, that he treats all his friends in the same manner. If his negligence should deprive him of your assistance, the loss will be greater on his part than on yours: but I hope that you have heard from him before now.

I long to see your pamphlet[x] on the *Test Act:* you will perhaps send me them by my daughter. I cannot think it possible, that, in the hands of opposition, the bill should get through the Commons.[y]

[x] See supra, pp. 318. 332.

[y] The motion for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts was made by Mr. Fox March 2, 1790, when the House divided upon the question; ayes 105, noes 294.

See N. A. Reg. xi. 87.

Nothing could be more grateful to a parent's heart, than the testimony you bear in your last to my son's merit, and the assurance you give me of his fair prospect of success. How shall we repay the goodness of those kind friends, who have admitted him to their regard, and rendered him so many essential services?

I have sent up the first part of my intended publication* to the publisher. I am afraid I shall find the printing a tedious business.

Mrs. E. unites with me in cordial respects to Mrs. Wakefield and yourself. I shall be anxious to hear from you soon.

I am, with true esteem,
Dear Sir,
Your affectionate friend,
WILLIAM ENFIELD.

Mr. Pitt good for nothing! it is impossible! He *says* the Slave Trade *shall* be abolished!

* "The History of Philosophy, from the earliest Times to the Beginning of the present Century," &c. 2 vols. 4to. 1791.

LETTER LXIX.

The Rev. Dr. CLAYTON[a] *to Mr.* WAKEFIELD.

Nottingham, April 7, 1791.

DEAR SIR,

FEW things are more embarrassing than to write where the heart feels more than the pen can describe. I could not however suffer your mother to go to Hackney without this written testimony of my gratitude for past favours, of my deep regret for the absence of your society, and my anxious solicitude for your welfare and happiness. I have no one now to enliven my morning solitude with a friendly call. We have suffered an irreparable loss in your departure, and Heywood's death.

Of your brother I enquire after you, and have been not a little agitated with your precarious situation; but I hope it is changed for the better, if not, I cannot conceive, with your abilities, but that you must command independence; or is the world in such a wretched condition that a man of merit cannot make his way but by a servility which a man of honour must reject with scorn?

[a] See supra, p. 226.

It is really astonishing to see men of no distinguished talents meet with the most flattering success, while men of the first rate are disappointed. The cause is worth investigating. There is a certain attention to the art of pleasing, there is a certain degree of prudence to which I am afraid the most liberal minds do not pay sufficient attention. And there is a degree of patience necessary to success to which a man of genius can hardly submit.

Believe me, my good friend, I mean not by this to draw you into an explication, or to suggest that I have the least suspicion of the wisdom of your conduct. I have nothing at heart but your interest, nothing I wish more for your own interest, and that of the rising generation, than the success of your plans. If I know any thing I know your integrity and disinterestedness. I am only afraid of your being "righteous overmuch."

Your brother asked me if I intended to be a subscriber to your work? surely; and I beg your pardon for leaving you in any doubt of it. Whenever I can serve you, you may command it; nay, I shall think it an honour, as well as a pleasure, but my misfortune is, I have more inclination and less capacity than most others.

Remember me to Mrs. Wakefield, and believe me to be

Your obliged humble servant,

N. CLAYTON.

LETTER LXX.

The Rev. Dr. ENFIELD *to Mr.* WAKEFIELD.

Norwich, Aug. 1, 1792.

I AM sure, my dear Sir, you must have thought me chargeable with extreme inattention, in having so long neglected to acknowledge the friendly notice you have taken of me in your *Memoirs.* The true reason has been, that at the time when this interesting work came into my hands, I was in a state of health and spirits, which rendered every kind of mental exertion irksome; and, since my recovery, business of various kinds has crowded upon me, which has demanded immediate dispatch.

I have seldom in the course of my life read a work with more avidity, or, on the whole, with more pleasure, than this bold and honest sketch of yourself and your opinions. Besides the amusement which it afforded me in common with other readers, from the great variety

of anecdotes and reflections which it contains, I experienced a kind of enjoyment in the perusal, which must be confined to those who have the happiness of your personal acquaintance and friendship. Even in those scenes which passed prior, or posterior, to my connexion with you, I could easily imagine you exercising the same virtues, and exhibiting the same accomplishments, and the same amiable manners, which won my esteem and affection at Warrington: and, in indulging this imagination, I was well assured that I could not be mistaken; for I have always seen that you are as religiously careful to observe the precept, *servetur ad imum*, &c. in the conduct of life, as in your literary productions.

But the part of your work, you will easily suppose, which most of all interested me, was the narrative of those incidents which passed during your connexion with the Warrington Academy. Here I seemed to be carried back into the midst of that busy scene, which, while it distracted me with a thousand anxieties and vexations, sometimes afforded me pleasures, which I must always recollect with infinite regret, because I must never expect to see them renewed. Such society as we then enjoyed in our small fraternity of literary friends, few situations, however agreeable in other respects, are capable of supplying.

Accept my best thanks, my dear friend, for the pains you have so kindly taken to remove the obloquy which some have been inclined to cast upon me on account of the failure of the Warrington Academy. General expressions of esteem from one, to whom I have long been very cordially attached, could not be unwelcome: but your attempt to do public justice to my honest and assiduous, though unsuccessful, exertions in the service of that institution, and to assign the true causes of its dissolution,[b] is an act of friendship, which it is impossible I should ever forget.

In what you have said concerning Warrington, Hackney, and dissenting academies in general,[c] I heartily concur. If the plan of university-education be faulty in being too narrow, ours is not less so in being too general. With respect to classical learning in particular, I am convinced, as I believe you have frequently heard me acknowledge, that dissenters have never given it that share of attention in their schools, which it deserves. You have chastised us pretty severely on this score; but we ought to *kiss the rod*, and be better scholars for the future.

I am sorry, on many accounts, that your situation at Hackney has proved so unpleasant:

[b] See supra, pp. 215, 216, and 223.

[c] See supra, pp. 340—353.

excuse the freedom of sincere friendship, if I add, that I have sometimes of late been reluctantly compelled to wish, that you had been more sparing of censure.

I have been an attentive, and, *I think*, an impartial spectator of the skirmish between you and your opponents, on the subject of public worship; and I must confess that the debate does not appear to me, in the result, to terminate against the practice: nevertheless, I acknowledge that there is much necessity for reformation in the *mode* of worship, both among church-men and dissenters; and I hope your caustics will make us all feel this necessity, and produce speedy alterations.

I shall rejoice to be informed that you and your family are well, and that you have a prospect of being settled more to your satisfaction than you have been of late.

Mrs. E. unites in best remembrance, and kindest wishes to yourself and Mrs. W.

Believe me ever,
With true esteem and affection,
Your obliged and faithful friend,
W. ENFIELD.

END OF VOL. I.

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